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The Landing of Columbus

MARITIME DISCOVERY

AND

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS,

CONSIDERED IN THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS.

BY JOHN CAMPBELL,

AUTHOR OF "JETHRO," THE FIRST PRIZE ESSAY ON THE DIFFUSION OF THE GOSPEL AMONG OUR HOME POPULATION.

Captured Female Missionaries disembarking at Monte Video. (See page 420.)

ILLUSTRATED WITH

ENGRAVINGS BY G. BAXTER.

LONDON:

JOHN SNOW, 35, PATERNOSTER ROW

1840.

DEDICATION.

TO PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES OF ALL DENOMINATIONS.

BRETHREN AND FATHERS,

An investigation of the history of Maritime Discovery discloses the fact, that in relation to Africa, India, and America, the spirit of Missions was the principal support of the mighty enterprise. The discovery of Polynesia, however, presents an exception to this rule; for there Spanish cupidity first, and afterwards British curiosity, originated and sustained the adventurous efforts, which ultimately developed the wondrous regions of the Great Pacific. Missionary motives, whether Papal or Protestant, had no part in the matter. These two facts merit a measure of attention never yet bestowed upon them. On the continents of Africa, India, and America, the Christianity imparted was that of European ecclesiastical establishments; she walked hand in hand with the civil power, in the paths of invasion, victory, and conquest; the waving plume, the glittering sword, the roaring cannon, and the mingled swell of martial music, proclaimed her approach! The erection of the fort of war and the house of prayer were contemporary operations!

Such were the first Missions of Europe to those lands. What were the results? History has visited the sphere of their efforts, and conducted her investigations in the spirit of truth and justice; she has collected her facts, sifted the evidence on which they rest, and calmly recorded her grave

and deliberate judgment. That judgment is fairly before the world, and is such that mere heathen humanity shudders at the recital, and true piety turns away with disgust and indignation. In Polynesia, it was happily much otherwise. The uncultivated isles, and untutored natives of the South, presented small temptation to the ambition and rapacity of European monarchs to send murderous armaments to extinguish their liberties, and plunder them of the trifles which formed their worldly wealth; and it was not the practice of such monarchs to seek the spiritual good of those whom they had not previously stripped of all that is dear to man in this present life; after which they added insult to robbery by the hypocritical pretence of an anxiety to promote the welfare of their souls in the world to come! In Polynesia, however, conquest and thraldom were not the first step to illumination and conversion! The soldier and the Missionary were not mess-mates! Gunpowder and the gospels were not carried in the same packet! The alternative of proselytism was not the gibbet!

Christianity, in her first approach to Polynesia, appeared arrayed in her native purity, with the olive-branch in her hand, with looks of love and accents of tenderness, proclaiming "peace on earth, and good-will to men." In her mouth there was no authority but that of her glorious Creator, and she carried with her no fetters but the "cords of love." She extinguished no right, she inflicted no wrong! She asked no gift or reward for her perilous journey; she freely offered to the islanders the blessings of the gospel and the felicity of heaven! Her heralds presented themselves as the servants of no master, the subjects of no king but Jesus Christ. They went simply as partakers of the common nature, and

members of the great family of man. Their character and vocation were purely spiritual. They mentioned war only to denounce it; they aimed at no conquest but that of the heart.

The London Missionary Society—the obvious production of special providences under very extraordinary circumstances—in certain great points, less resembling the present progressive maturity of our species than the instant perfection of the primeval pair, was originally composed of Christians in contradistinction from all sects and all parties. On this great general principle the first Directors chose the first Missionaries. They received them simply as Christians; as Christians simply they sent them to the Isles of the South. On the memorable night of their ordination, as our subsequent pages will show, they put into their hands the Volume of Inspiration, with this brief charge:—"Go, beloved brother! live agreeably to this blessed Word, and publish the Gospel to the heathen, according to your calling, gifts, and abilities."*

Those men of God did as they were commanded. They embarked; they proceeded on their voyage; and while ploughing the surface of the Great Pacific, they chose from their body a committee of eight persons to examine the Volume, which they had received, and to report upon its statements respecting Christian doctrine and Ecclesiastical order. Interesting and unparalleled experiment! In the silence and solitude of the mighty ocean, beyond the confines of the ancient world, far removed from the din and the dogmatism of European polemics, from the strife and passion of Ecclesiastical bodies, the honest inquisitors sat down

* See p. 241.

to examine the instructions of their Lord and Master; and after thorough perusal and earnest prayer, they presented to the body a unanimous report upon all the points which had been referred to them. On the great subject immediately before us, their judgment is the following:—

"The visible church, which is also catholic or universal under the gospel, consists of all those throughout the world, that profess the true religion, together with their children; and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation. Unto this catholic visible church, Christ hath given the ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God, for the gathering and perfecting of the saints, in this life, to the end of the world; and doth by his own presence and Spirit, according to his promise, make them effectual thereunto.

"There is no other Head of the church but the Lord Jesus Christ; neither hath any temporal prince, secular power, or civil magistrate, any right to exercise any authority over her: neither needeth she any establishments from them, being founded on Him who is the rock of ages; so that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her; and the highest himself shall establish her."*

The Directors of the Society were a mixed body, composed of individuals from at least six different Denominations; the body of Missionaries who sailed in the Duff were as mixed as the Directors, but notwithstanding difference of habit, prejudice, and education, the calm investigation of the Scriptures conducted them to the unanimous conclusion above recited. Such were the views which guided the formation of the first churches in the South Sea Islands. In

* See Appendix to Missionary Voyage, pp. 415, 416.

those churches gradations of rank had no place; kings, chiefs, and the common people were on a perfect level. The adoption of this great principle laid the foundation of entire unity, and of free communion, among all the converts of all the isles; they were both in spirit and in form, in semblance and in reality, all one in Christ Jesus; they clearly exhibited the idea of one faith, one Lord, one baptism, one flock, and one Shepherd.

Brethren and fathers! it is of importance unutterable that you and all Missionaries in all lands should understand this principle, and act upon it. By this alone can you secure the church of Christ against pollution from secular contact, and all the calamities consequent upon it. The little fountains which you are now opening in the wilderness are every where destined to become oceans. Oh! take good heed that Papal poison do not mingle with the heavenly spring! The character of the churches to be formed in future ages, in your respective climes, now wholly under God, depends upon you. Your views and operations cannot be confined to your own age. Whether for good or for evil, they will propagate themselves through all coming generations. By pursuing the true apostolic course relative to the wholly spiritual and unworldly character of our Lord's kingdom, you will not only guarantee its purity, but in all points powerfully subserve its vital interests. You will, moreover, perform your parts towards preserving the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, and preventing the erection of those barriers which, in Europe, have broken up the church of Christ into a multiplicity of communities, most of them hostile to each other, and all presenting a spectacle of diversity, distraction, and confusion, which sickens the heart, and fills it with anguish and sorrow!

Is this spectacle to endure for ever? What is its main cause? What is its sole cure? The cause is plain; the cure is simple. There must be a return to the principles of the New Testament. Until this be effected, there will be neither peace on earth nor good will amongst men! Let the demon of Ecclesiastical discord then be confined to the British Isles and to Europe; but never, no, never let it find either a priest, or a temple, or a victim in those lands where you dwell! Among us the flames of contention have broken fiercely forth, and the fires are spreading on every hand; on one side, it is a war of prejudice and privilege, of predominance and monopoly; on the other, it is a war of truth and principle, a war for the honour of Christ, and for the ultimate and everlasting concord and union of all his people. The final result of such a conflict may be with certainty predicted; it may be long waged, and, at times, it may seem of doubtful issue; but truth must one day triumph; the vulture must give place to the dove, and the harsh tones of Ecclesiastical animosity to the sweet accents of Christian charity. In the British empire, the fissure of forty years back, has now become an impassable gulf. No terms of truce or peace will henceforth be accepted on either side; negotiation is at a perpetual end; it is decidedly *bellum ad internecionem!* The future course of the contest, the time when, and the means by which, it will be terminated, no man can foretell or foresee; but one thing is clear, that it will be a day for Britain, glorious beyond the power of her poets and her orators adequately to describe, which shall behold such a union and communion among all the followers of the Lamb, in that illustrious isle, as now obtains among the native converts of Polynesia!

Brethren and fathers! it is proper that you, and the

societies to which you respectively belong, should rightly apprehend the position assigned you by God, in the economy of his Providence. You constitute a new and all-important element, in the system of agencies by which He is accomplishing his vast and wondrous purposes in relation to our world. The ambassadors of princes and the courts of kings are very insignificant objects, compared with your unnoticed selves and your derided or neglected Missionary stations. You are, as said Mulkamair, "the men of the skies;" and all nations shall one day know it! The God of the skies is with you! Your obscure and, to earthly men, apparently pitiful, ridiculous, and irrational operations are putting powers in motion, by which the entire face of our world, and the whole frame of human society, will be completely transformed.

Had Adam Smith, the great founder of the School of true Political Philosophy in Europe,—the magnitude of whose powers of comprehension, comparison, and analysis, was equalled only by his boundless subject*—lived in our day, he would have seen in you the novel instrumentality appointed for realizing his own sublime and glorious anticipations respecting the results of Maritime Discovery, and the future harmony and felicity of our distracted world. His views are thus set forth in his immortal work:—

"The discovery of America, and that of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, are the two greatest and most important events recorded in the history of mankind. Their consequences have already been great; but, in the short period of between two and three centuries, which has elapsed since these discoveries were made, it is

* Wealth of Nations.

impossible that the whole extent of their consequences can have been foreseen. What benefits or what misfortunes to mankind may hereafter result from those great events, no human wisdom can foresee. By uniting, in some measure, the most distant parts of the world, by enabling them to relieve one another's wants, to increase one another's enjoyments, and to encourage one another's industry, their general tendency would seem to be beneficial. To the natives, however, both of the East and West Indies, all the commercial benefits, which can have resulted from those events, have been sunk and lost in the dreadful misfortunes which they have occasioned. These misfortunes, however, seem to have arisen rather from accident than from any thing in the nature of those events themselves. At the particular time when these discoveries were made, the superiority of force happened to be so great on the side of the Europeans, that they were enabled to commit with impunity every sort of injustice in those remote countries. Hereafter, perhaps, the natives of those countries may grow stronger, as those of Europe may grow weaker, and the inhabitants of all the different quarters of the world may arrive at that equality of courage and force, which, by inspiring mutual fear, can alone overawe the injustice of independent nations into some sort of respect for the rights of one another. But nothing seems more likely to establish this equality of force, than that mutual communication of knowledge, and of all sorts of improvements, which an extensive commerce, from all countries to all countries, naturally, or rather necessarily, carries along with it."*

In this profound passage, philosophical sagacity has done

* Wealth of Nations, book iv. chap. vii.

its utmost; it can go no further. Should these means fail, philosophy knows of nothing more, by which the wounds of suffering humanity can be healed. But even this lofty flight of the eagle-eyed Economist has made only a small discovery compared with the disclosures of God's word. How clear are its communications on the subject of the means! How bright and glorious are its anticipations and infallible predictions, in respect of the end! Oh! how feeble and purblind is the highest philosophy in comparison with the most meagre exhibition of true Christianity!

Where speculation ends, there, revelation only begins. Having listened to the sage, let us now hear the prophet:— "The ends of the earth shall remember, and turn unto the Lord; the kindreds of the nations shall worship before him; for the kingdom is his, and he is the governor among the nations." "He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." "They shall not hurt nor destroy, in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

Oh! ye servants of the Most High, whom the Prince of Peace hath sent unto the Gentiles, "to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive the forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in Him!" for you the gates of the ocean were opened, and the high-way of the waters both to the West and to the East explored by Columbus and De Gama. Those mighty men were your precursors. Their

discoveries, at the appointed time, were of God as really as the appearance of John in the wilderness, or the conversion and appointment of the Apostle of the Gentiles. Yours is the distinguished honour, to repair the wrongs of distant countries in former ages, and to recompense the "dreadful misfortunes" which Smith truly declares to have been the accidental attendants of Maritime Discovery. Those nations of Europe which have so long robbed and oppressed the millions of other climes, shall not destroy for ever! The reign of their rapacity has even now approached its everlasting close! You, their Christian sons! have begun to atone for the inhuman barbarity of them, your cruel fathers! Europe—the emporium of the aggregated wealth of a plundered world—is becoming through you to that very world the fountain of life and the source of celestial blessings!

In preparing the earlier parts of the following volume, while surveying the globe as it stands before us, and casting a rapid glance over the expanded field of Missionary enterprise, we have read with an emotion, in which you will doubtless participate, the remarkable declarations, the noble views, the withering censures, of the great moralist of England, in relation to Missions. The expanded benevolence and the stupendous intellect of Johnson have dealt with the question of Maritime Discovery in its Missionary bearings, in a manner which will redound more to his honour, in the future and better ages of our world, than all the rest of his works, whether poetry, prose, history, or biography, combined. It is, moreover, interesting to compare the English Moralist with the Scotch Philosopher, and to see, in this case, the great superiority of the former, although he wrote long antecedently to the latter. Smith and John-

son were friends; but they were men in all points very differently constituted; the Moralist, notwithstanding his ferocity, had in his heart, greatly more tenderness and benevolence than the calm, but cold and calculating Economist. The following are the declarations of Johnson:—

"In 1463, in the third year of the reign of John II., died prince Henry, the first encourager of remote navigation, by whose incitement, patronage, and example, distant nations have been made acquainted with each other, unknown countries have been brought into general view, and the power of Europe has been extended to the remotest parts of the world. What mankind has lost and gained by the genius and designs of this prince, it would be long to compare, and very difficult to estimate. Much knowledge has been acquired, and much cruelty committed; the belief of religion has been very little propagated, and its laws have been outrageously and enormously violated. The Europeans have scarcely visited any coast, but to gratify avarice, and extend corruption; to arrogate dominion without right, and practise cruelty without incentive. Happy had it then been for the oppressed, if the designs of Henry had slept in his bosom, and surely more happy for the oppressors. But there is reason to hope, that, out of so much evil, good may sometimes be produced; and that the light of the gospel will at last illuminate the sands of Africa, and the deserts of America, though its progress cannot but be slow, when it is so much obstructed by the lives of Christians.

"The first propagators of Christianity recommended their doctrines by their sufferings and virtues; they entered no defenceless territories with swords in their hands; they built no forts upon ground to which they had no right; nor pol-

luted the purity of religion with the avarice of trade, or the insolence of power! What may still raise higher the indignation of a Christian mind, this purpose of propagating truth appears never to have been seriously pursued by any European nation; no means, whether lawful or unlawful, have been practised with diligence and perseverance for the conversion of savages. When a fort is built, and a factory established, there remains no other care than to grow rich. It is soon found that ignorance is most easily kept in subjection, and that by enlightening the mind with truth, fraud and usurpation would be made less practicable and less secure." *

Brethren and fathers! you can read these awful paragraphs of the author of the Rambler, without a blush. Such, however, was his estimate of all Missions known in his day; but the dust of Johnson had slumbered eleven years in Westminster Abbey, before the formation of the London Missionary Society—an institution against which not even one of the objections of the Moralist can be raised—an institution wanting in nothing which he considered necessary to the efficient prosecution of the mighty enterprise. Nor is that, although among the first, the only institution of which these things may be safely affirmed. The question of Missions, like every other appertaining to religion, and the kingdom of Christ, is now more clearly understood than in the days of Johnson; and that which "nations" had failed to do, voluntary confederacies of believers are energetically and successfully accomplishing. Means have, for more than a whole generation, "been practised with diligence and perseverance for the conversion of savages," while "the

* Introduction to the World Displayed.

light of the gospel" has at last illuminated "the sands of Africa, and the deserts of America." The millions of India, and of Polynesia also, awake to the voice of love. The work of Missions is at length happily wrested from the hands of blood and rapine, and carried on by the saints of the Most High; kings and commercial companies begin at length to understand more clearly their own province; and it only remains now for the churches of the living God to put on their strength, and to put forth their graces.

Brethren and fathers, Protestant Missionaries, of every name in every land! be of good cheer! The set time to favour Zion is at hand. Yet a little longer, and he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry! The time draws nigh when Africa from Tunis to the Cape, and from the Gambia to Abyssinia; when Asia from Shiras to the Leria, and from Tobolsk to Canton; when the Americas, from Patagonia to the Polar sea; and when the North and South Pacific Ocean, from Patrocinio to the Macquaries, and from the Pelew Islands to the Isle of St. Paul;—the time draws nigh when those residences of the human race shall be covered with schools and sanctuaries, and peopled with the living temples of the living God! In this glorious consummation your philanthropic and holy labours must terminate. Then shall all men be blessed in him whom you love and serve; and all nations shall call him blessed! Blessed be his glorious name for ever; and let the whole earth be filled with his glory! Amen, and Amen!

JOHN CAMPBELL

Charles Square, London,
April 10th, 1840.

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THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

PREFACE.

The following work is designed to form a companion to the "Missionary Enterprises" of the Rev. John Williams, a volume which has met with a measure of public favour never accorded to any publication of a similar character. That most fascinating Narrative,—which enjoys the exalted honour of being dedicated, by permission, to the late revered sovereign of England,—from the highest prelates and nobles in the empire down to the humblest peasants and artisans, has proved its power to captivate and charm. Invaluable from the first, for its stupendous and all but miraculous facts, it has now acquired a deep additional interest, by the melancholy issue,—should report unhappily prove well founded,—of his last benevolent attempt to extend the kingdom of the Redeemer, and to save the souls of savage men. While sustained, from the hour of its publication, by its own inherent and ever-during excellence, it was powerfully aided by the exciting presence and entrancing tongue of its amiable and admirable author; a presence, alas! we fear, to be enjoyed no more, and a tongue which death has silenced for ever!

For the long delay which has taken place since this work was announced, an apology, it is hoped, will be found in the greatness and variety of the subjects, and the extent of inquiry necessary to their successful prosecution, and in the laborious care which has been employed in its preparation. Of the attention and application bestowed upon the undertaking, the Author deems it not wholly inconsistent with sincere diffidence and due respect for the public thus to speak, since he leaves it for them to judge of the success; for if he has failed, it will only deepen his humiliation to avow the extent of his industry.

The Author has nothing to complain of with respect to materials. He has not deemed anything essential to his work, which has not been within his reach. He has, in a number of particulars, to acknowledge striking and providential circumstances which have forwarded his object by supplying important facts; and also, without an invidious specification of individuals, to confess his obligations to all who have, in any way, contributed to the completenes of his publication.

It was the author's original intention, to have given an outline of the history of the London Missionary Society, from the date of its formation down to the time at which Mr. Williams first embarked for Polynesia. Soon after the appearance of his announcement, however, he was apprized of the purpose of Mr. Ellis to write the complete history of the Institution; a fact of which he had been previously in utter ignorance. The Author felt at once, that, for such a work, the Secretary was the fittest of living men,—that it was both his privilege and his duty to perform it,—and that to interfere with his province would be equally ungracious and unjust. He, therefore, promptly and cheerfully relinquished that part of his plan to his honoured friend, and confined himself to the simple formation of the Society. He sincerely laments, in common with thousands, that a knowledge of his subject so ample and matured, and a pen so skilful and practised, as those of Mr. Ellis, should by affliction have been hitherto rendered unavailing for the accomplishment of that important object. He sincerely hopes, that an individual who has done so much for the Isles of the South Seas, for the literature of Missions, and for the glory of the Messiah, will yet be spared to return to those honourable labours, which have been so long the business of his life, the delight of his heart, and which have secured for him a fixed place, and an imperishable name, in the annals of Christian philanthropy.

Scarcely was the matter adjusted with regard to Mr. Ellis, when forth came an advertisement of the "Lives of the Fathers and Founders" of the Society, by another equally indefatigable and accomplished writer, who, in divers ways,

and through a lengthened period, has pre-eminently contributed to the cause of knowledge, benevolence, humanity and gospel-diffusion, both at home and abroad. That project appeared somewhat to interfere with a single and rather limited department of the Author's design; but it did not lead to the least alteration of his course. He has given all that he intended, in the shape of sketches, and all that was necessary to illustrate the previous part of his volume which detailed the formation of the Society. He has none of the feelings of an injured party; for he does not consider that he has suffered wrong: and the spirit of rivalry is excluded by the totally dissimilar character and object of the works. He considers the volumes of Dr. Morison to be a publication, which has done excellent service to Christian Missions. It brings together into one body the main facts of the history of the chief "Fathers and Founders," omitting nothing of real importance in the larger works of biography already published. In some cases it corrects, in others it supplements them; and in reference to several honoured men, it "attends to the neglected, and remembers the forgotten."

Should Mr. Ellis be enabled to effect his object according to announcement, then the matter will stand thus:—while the three publications, respectively, will each have something in common, and be complete in themselves, they will, likewise, together, constitute one whole. The work of the Author claims to occupy the honourable place of an introduction to those of his esteemed friends, and, indeed, to all the publications that have been issued in connexion with the London Missionary Society. Such as it is, he commends his endeavour to Him whose cause and glory it is intended to promote, in the anxious hope and with the earnest prayer, that it may, in its own humble measure, and during its own little day, conduce to the instruction, the zeal, and the activity of general readers, and to the nourishment of a Missionary spirit in the hearts of the rising race among the Christian churches of the British Empire.

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EFFECTS OF THE CRUSADES ON MARITIME DISCOVERY.

Cause of the Crusades—Peter the Hermit—Council of Placentia—Council of Clermont—March of the Crusaders—Havoc of Armies—Earlier Views of the Crusades—Change of Opinion—Beneficial Results of the Crusades—Their Effect on Maritime Discovery—Ignorance of Geography—Improvement in Hydrography—Naval Architecture.

The expeditions to Palestine, designated Crusades, date their cause from the year 1063, and their commencement from the year 1096. At the former period, the Turks took possession of Jerusalem; and from that time, European pilgrims to the holy land were the subjects of insult and plunder. The devotees in succession, on their return, detailed the doleful story of their calamities; and thus by degrees enkindled a spirit of fierce and enthusiastic indignation. At length arrived the memorable period when Peter the Hermit proceeded on a pilgrimage. This remarkable man, both seeing and suffering the usual indignities, returned full of superstitious rage, and resolutely bent on rousing the myriads of Christendom to warlike efforts for recovering possession of the holy city. The fanatic applied to Pope Urban II., who, for reasons less allied to piety than to policy, summoned to Placentia a council, consisting of 4,000 ecclesiastics and 30,000 laymen. This prodigious assembly met to deliberate on a plain, where his holiness and the

hermit in turn harangued them on the afflictive condition of their brethren in the East, and the degradation to which Christianity would be subjected, while the holy city remained in the hands of infidels. At the close of the addresses, the heavens resounded with the cry of war from the lips of a great majority of the infatuated multitude. But some of the more judicious deemed it a matter which called for further consideration.

To increase the probabilities of success, the pope prudently commanded Peter to visit the chief cities and principal sovereigns of Christendom; and, when things were deemed ripe for the enterprise, then he summoned another council at Clermont. This convocation was attended by the greatest prelates, as also by nobles and princes of the highest renown. Here again the pope and the hermit, respectively, played their parts; they bewailed the calamities of the pilgrims, and the profanation of the holy city; invoking the spirits of Europe to come forth to battle, and to hurl the bolts of destruction against the Turkish foe. Seldom have enthusiasm and eloquence obtained a more splendid triumph. The whole assembly in a moment, as if possessed by the genius of havoc, with one voice shouted, "It is the will of God! It is the will of God!"—words which afterwards became the battle cry of the crusaders. The fires of vengeance spread through nations, and men of all ranks, classes, and countries, rushed to arms; a cross was affixed to the right shoulder of each volunteer, and the expedition was thence denominated a *crusade*.

These mad movements resulted in the formation of a host of 800,000 persons; an army the greatest, and, in outward appearance, the most formidable, that had ever been known in the memory of man. A division of about 300,000, of the scum of this enormous mass, was led on by the hermit, who, breathing threatenings and slaughter, with bare head, naked feet, a meager body wrapped in a coarse garment, and a rope around his waist, thus pressed forward to Asia. This division was a rare assemblage of the offscourings of Europe; monks, malefactors, debauchees, prostitutes, idle labourers, stupid artists, lazy tradesmen, insolvent merchants, worth-

less youth, and useless slaves, all panting for spoil, and easy methods of becoming rich—these were the followers of Peter! On the march through Hungary, Thrace, and Turcomania, the inhabitants, exasperated by their robberies, murders, and other crimes, rose up in arms, and cut in pieces the greatest part of them. Other divisions of the same host, wandering about, like an undisciplined band of robbers, plundering the villages, towns, and cities that lay in their path, and spreading desolation wherever they came, met a like fate. The regular armies, however, headed by illustrious commanders,—men distinguished alike by their birth and bravery,—proceeded in a more orderly manner, and arrived in safety.

These expeditions presented a spectacle at once awful and sublime. Europe and Asia, comprising most of the then known world, were up in arms, and mutual slaughter seemed to have become the chief business of mankind. All the roads and avenues which led to Palestine were drenched in blood, strewed with the skeletons of armies, and the wrecks of nations. The slumbers of the Middle Ages were fairly broken, and the inhabitants of the earth once more became wide awake. By this one passion and pursuit all others were for a season absorbed. The eighth and last of these stupendous movements of murderous superstition took place in 1270, after which, although there were several attempts to get up a crusade, none was attended with success. Movements so vast must doubtless have been attended with great effects. On the true character of such effects, however, there has been a variety of sentiment even among judges of high and just pretensions. We do not refer to Voltaire and his contemporary writers of the French "Encyclopédie," with others of the same class and nation, from whom, at that period, it would have been preposterous to expect even the semblance of justice where aught relating to Christianity, whether in a pure or a mixed state, was concerned. Nor do we allude to the history of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," whose great author seems to have become at once feeble and purblind, when addressing himself to the consideration of the "General Con-

sequences of the Crusades." The meagerness and penury of that part of his immortal work show, that he had done justice neither to his great subject nor to his vast powers.* Our reference is to historians of learning, sobriety, and candour, who see in the crusades only an extended catalogue of evils; who boldly affirm that they were highly prejudicial both to the cause of religion, and to the civil interests of mankind; and that they were fruitful of innumerable evils and calamities, the effects of which have come down to later ages.† By these writers it is contended, that European nations were bereaved from time to time, not only of the flower of their youth, but even of the greatest part of their inhabitants; that the wealth of the West was exported into Asia for the support of their fantastic and fanatical wars; that multitudes of the most powerful and opulent families thus became either extinct or were ingulfed in the miseries of poverty and destitution, by the sale and mortgage of their lands and possessions; that by such events the face of Europe was totally changed, and the affairs of society became involved in a labyrinth of inextricable confusion; and last, perhaps worst, that the crusades prodigiously contributed to augment the papal power, and to consolidate the empire of the "Man of Sin."

Granting that all this is substantially true, it is only a part—a very superficial part—of the whole truth. If the evils were great, they were likewise local, and their operation was in some degree immediate and temporary, while the good was a seed which lay long hid in the earth, but at length quickened and grew up into a great tree, whose boughs are gradually filling the world, and its fruit imparting health and happiness to all nations. The historian of "Charles the Fifth" did great service to truth and to mankind, by boldly asserting and maintaining that the crusades largely contributed to the progress of freedom, and the advancement of the human mind. Since that time thoughtless rant and flippant ridicule have given place to philosophical inquiry; and that erudite and liberal body, the Institute of

* Decline and Fall, chap lxi.

† Mosheim, Cent. XI. Part i. chap. i.

France, have even gone the length of proposing to the learned in general, as a subject of competition, "The advantages derived to society from the crusades;" a proposition which gave existence to the prize essays of Heeren and Choiseul d'Aillecourt. These works demonstrate that the benefits resulting to posterity from the crusades exceedingly outweigh and outnumber the calamities inflicted on contemporary generations.*

It has now been clearly established, that these expeditions conferred substantial and inestimable benefits upon society. There is not one of its aspects to which their influence did not extend. Europe, previously, had for a time been an intellectual sepulchre, till Peter the Hermit sounded his trumpet, every blast of which pierced the mighty tomb, when nations awoke, and the millions of the West, started into life. This mighty moral resurrection was the source of all the great European movements on earth and ocean, in religion and politics, which immediately or remotely followed. From this, ultimately sprung the glorious Reformation from popery. From this, too, political society in Europe took its regular and permanent forms of freedom, and was cast into a mould entirely new. The extinction of the small fiefs, which Mosheim and others lament as an evil, the extension of the great fiefs, and the creation, by this means, of various centres for society instead of the previous dispersion and isolation, were the chief effects of the crusades in relation to the feudal system. As to the burghers, the result was similar; the crusades were the means of creating large towns. Petty inland commerce and industry had been insufficient to form boroughs such as the great towns of Italy and Flanders. They owed their rise to commerce—maritime commerce—and especially to that between the East and West; and in this direction the crusades gave to that commerce the greatest impulse it had ever received.

It is a striking fact, that, after the overrunning of the Roman empire by the barbarians, and prior to the crusades, the strong tendency of society was to dispersion, dissolution,

* The subject is still more amply worked out in Michaud's Histoire des Croisades.

and localization; but that, afterwards, its tendency was equally strong to junction, to amalgamation, to centralization. The smaller existences were absorbed in the greater, or grouped around them. From that hour to the present, such has been the tendency of society; and to this all its onward movements are still pointing.* On the one hand, there was expansion of ideas, and enfranchisement of opinion; on the other, the aggrandizement of particular powers, and a wider sphere opened to all sorts of human activity. They produced, at one and the same time, an increase to individual liberty and to political unity. They conduced to the independence of man, and to the centralization of society.†

In nothing have the effects of the crusades been more remarkably manifest than in their relation to maritime discovery. Such was their importance with respect to this great subject, that, had no other benefit resulted, we should have deemed it an ample compensation for all their local and temporary mischief. Prior to the twelfth century, the seas of Europe and of Asia, with the exception of the Mediterranean, were almost unknown even to those nations who dwelt on their shores. At the commencement of the wars in Palestine, France had only two or three ports on the coast of Normandy, and not one either in the Atlantic or in the Mediterranean. Even England, notwithstanding her insular position, had not made greater advances. The insignificant navigation of that age was in the hands of a very few towns on the coasts of the Baltic, in Spain, Flanders, and Holland. But on the commencement of the crusades, the spirit of devotion, such as it was, uniting with the spirit of commerce, imparted a fresh and all-powerful impulse, as well as a more extended scope, to maritime operations. The hardy inhabitants of Denmark appeared in the seas of Syria; and the pirate mariners of Norway assisted in the capture of Sidon. The citizens of Lubeck and Bremen blazed in valour at the siege of Ptolemais; and from all the coasts of the West proceeded vessels, and even fleets, with pilgrims, heroes, arms, and provisions, to the kingdom of Jerusalem,

* See Channing on Associations.

† See Guizot's History of Civilization, Lect. viii.

and the other principalities in Asia, which had been founded by the bravery of the crusaders. From this cause, navigators of all countries assembled in the seas of the East: and, under the auspices of the Cross, incipient commercial relations were established among the maritime nations of Europe. Early in the twelfth century, a fleet of Pisans, in conjunction with other Italians, assisted the Aragonese in effecting the conquest of the Balearic islands; and the navigators of Italy thus extended their knowledge to the shores of Spain, of which their previous ignorance was so great, that they mistook the coasts of Aragon for the country of the Moors. Emboldened by experience in distant voyages, the navigators of Lubeck, Bremen, and Denmark also explored the hitherto unknown coasts of the Baltic; a communication was likewise opened between the Baltic, the Mediterranean, the Spanish ocean, and the North seas; an intense spirit of enterprise and emulation united different nations in pursuit of the same advantages; and nautical science received important accessions in almost all its branches. The configuration of coasts, the position of capes, harbours, bays, islands, and headlands, were determined; the direction of winds, currents, and tides, was observed; and considerable approaches were made towards settling and systematizing the first elements of the science of hydrography.

Naval architecture also, during the crusades, received its first principal improvements. Vessels were more substantially constructed, while their size was likewise increased; and it is also a fact which deserves notice, that they were, for the first time in Europe, provided with several masts, in order to multiply their sails, and enable them to shape a course upon a wind. During the same period, too, a code of maritime laws was framed which gave protection to navigators, and enabled them to reap the fruits of their lengthened enterprises and perilous toils. In short, it is more than probable that, without the crusades, the science of navigation would not, till at least a much later period, have enabled men to traverse the immense space which separates the Baltic from the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean; and far less to shoot across the mighty waste of waters in-

terposed between the Old and the New World, an event which has proved of the utmost importance to mankind.*

While the maritime capabilities of Europe were thus augmented, causes, various and powerful, were in operation to impel mankind to the exercise of naval skill. That all-wise and unerring Providence, whose finger is so marked in every movement of our world, at the appointed time, raised up certain spirits in succession to be lights of their several ages. Those spirits were varied in rank, and limited in number, but they severally exercised a boundless influence on the minds of men, and the movements of posterity. We must now proceed to consider the effects of Eastern travel on naval enterprise.

* See Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. vii. p. 493.

CHAPTER II.

EFFECTS OF EASTERN TRAVEL ON MARITIME DISCOVERY.

Relation of Geography to Navigation—General Ignorance of the Crusaders—Spirit of Inquiry—Travels of Benjamin—Popish Missions—Kayuk Khan—Mission of Andrew and Rubruquis—The Caspian Sea—Travels of Marco Polo—Effect of his Reports concerning the Nations of the East.

Navigation, in the proper sense, may be considered as a branch both of geography and astronomy, for it not only borrows from these sciences its leading principles, but also depends, for a detailed illustration of its various parts, on the practical applications of which they are susceptible. Whatever, therefore, has tended to improve geography, has, in the same proportion, assisted in advancing the science of navigation; and it is an established fact, that nothing previously ever contributed so much to the science of geography as the expeditions to Palestine. Before the crusades, this science, strictly speaking, was unknown. Even countries the least remote had no communication with each other. Men in general knew little more of the earth they inhabited than did the beasts of the field. Burgundy was scarcely known in Paris, or Paris in Burgundy. The crusaders, whom Peter the Hermit led to Palestine and slaughter, were ignorant of the names of the towns through which they passed, even in Germany and Hungary. They were assailed and defeated at Merseburg; but the recorders of their calamity, not knowing the name of the place, contented themselves with calling it *Malleville*—the city of evil or misfortune. If the crusaders scarcely knew their own country, it is no wonder if to them the regions of the East were a land of darkness. Such, indeed, was their ignorance of those regions, that they were under the necessity of hiring guides among the Greeks, and of committing the fate of vast expeditions to faithless individuals, by whom they were at times deceived and abandoned. Whole armies have perished,

from not knowing the places to which even victory herself by her powerful hand had conducted them. In due season, however, the conflict of nations and the clashing of arms gave place to observation, inquiry, and reflection. Religion, and commerce her constant attendant—the one impelled by a desire to spread the knowledge of Christ; and the other, by the hope of gold—opened new routes, penetrated new regions, and collected a treasure of new facts concerning the nations and empires of the East.

In the list of distinguished itinerant benefactors of geography, the first place is doubtless due to Benjamin, a jew of Tudela, in the kingdom of Navarre. This extraordinary character, whether influenced by a superstitious veneration for the law of Moses, or by a longing desire to visit his brethren in the East,* or by some ill-defined but resistless impulse, in the year 1160, set out from Spain, and, travelling by land to Constantinople, proceeded through the countries to the north of the Euxine and Caspian seas, as far as Chinese Tartary. He then journeyed towards the south, and traversed various provinces of the further India, until, having reached the Indian Ocean, he embarked and visited several of its islands; and at length, after a space of thirteen years, returned by way of Egypt to Europe. In his surprising progress, the descendant of Abraham had acquired a vast amount of information respecting a large portion of the globe, at that time wholly unknown to Europeans; and he unquestionably opened a path for the enterprising spirit of a future age.

The discoveries of Benjamin were efficiently followed up, in 1246, by missions from the pope, and from different Christian princes, for purposes which led them to traverse the remote provinces of Asia. Father John de Plano Carpini, at the head of a mission of monks of the Franciscan order, and Father Ascolino, at the head of another mission of Dominicans, were, in the year 1246, sent by Pope Innocent IV. to enjoin Kayuk Khan, the terrible grandson of Zengis, then at the head of the Tartar empire, to embrace Christi-

* See Robertson's Hist. of America, book i.

anity, and to desist from desolating the world by his arms. The haughty descendant of the greatest conqueror that had ever ruled the millions of Asia, astonished at this strange mandate from an Italian priest, whose name and jurisdiction were alike unknown to him, received it with merited contempt, but dismissed the monks who delivered it with impunity. If, however, the missionaries failed to make a papist of this great ruler, they, nevertheless, succeeded, as travellers, in acquiring much geographical information. As the two missions had penetrated the country by different routes, and followed for some time the camp of the Tartars, always in motion, they had an opportunity of visiting a great part of Asia. Carpini, who proceeded by the way of Poland and Russia, travelled through its northern provinces as far as the extremities of Thibet. Ascolino, who seems to have landed somewhere in Syria, advanced through the southern provinces into the interior parts of Persia.

Seven years subsequently, in 1253, St. Louis of France contributed to the further extension of the knowledge which Europeans had acquired in those distant regions. Some designing impostor having informed him that a powerful khan of the Tartars had embraced the Christian faith, the weak monarch listened to the tale with pious credulity, and instantly resolved to send ambassadors to this illustrious convert, with a view of enticing him to attack their common enemy, the Saracens, in one quarter, while he fell upon them in another. As the monks were the only men of that age possessing the knowledge which sufficed to qualify for such a service, the king committed the high trust to father Andrew, a Jacobine, who was followed by father William de Rubruquis, a Franciscan. Of the progress of the former we have no memorial; the journal of the latter has been published. Rubruquis was admitted into the presence of Mangu, the third khan in succession from Zengis, and made a circuit through the interior parts of Asia more extended than had been effected by any of his predecessors. He had the further merit of being the first modern traveller that gave a true account of the Caspian, which had been correctly described by the early Greeks as an inland separate sea; but an idea

afterwards prevailed, that it was connected with the Northern Ocean. Rubruquis, however, ascertained that it had no connexion with that ocean, or with any other sea.

The paths thus opened by religious zeal were pursued and extended by commercial cupidity. A considerable number of mercantile adventurers penetrated, a greater or a less depth, into the interior of Asia; but the glory of the whole tribe was eclipsed by that of Marco Polo, who will ever rank among the greatest discoverers of former ages. This extraordinary man was a noble Venetian, whose family, according to the custom of his country, engaged extensively in commerce. His aspiring mind called for a sphere of activity more ample and arduous than even that presented by the established traffic carried on in those ports of Europe and Asia which the Venetians frequented. By this insatiable desire he was prompted to travel into unknown countries, in expectation of opening a commercial intercourse with them more suited to his exalted conceptions. Nicolo Polo, his father, and Maffeo Polo, his uncle, both merchants,* traded chiefly with the East; and, in pursuit of their mercantile speculations, had already visited Tartary. The recital of their travels on their return fired the youthful imagination of Marco, then between seventeen and eighteen years of age. Having, when in the East, gained the confidence of Kublai Khan, the great conqueror of China, at whose court they had resided for a long time, he had sent them back to Italy, accompanied by an officer, that they might repair to Rome as his ambassadors to the pope, of whom, and of the sovereigns of the West, they had given him an ample account.

After many delays, they were, about the year 1265, to return to the court of Kublai, bearing the papal letters and benediction, when it was resolved that young Marco should join the embassy. After a journey, which occupied no less than three and a half years, they reached Yen-King, near the spot where Pekin now stands, where they were received graciously, and with much honour, by the grand khan.

* Some, we know not on what ground, have represented the father as a missionary.

Struck and pleased with the interesting appearance of young Marco, the khan generously condescended to take him under his imperial protection, and immediately enrolled him among his attendants of honour. Marco, by prudence and fidelity, attained a place so high in the esteem and confidence of his royal patron, that for seventeen years, during which he remained in his service, he was employed in confidential missions to every part of the empire and its dependencies. He made more than one voyage on the Indian Ocean, and traded with many of the islands. He continued his mercantile peregrinations in Asia upwards of twenty-six years, and during that time advanced towards the East far beyond the utmost boundaries to which any European traveller had ever proceeded. Instead of following the course of Carpini and Rubruquis over the vast unpeopled plains of Tartary, he passed through the chief trading cities in the more cultivated parts of Asia, and even penetrated to Cambalu, or Peking, the capital of the great kingdom of Cathay, or China. Besides what he learned from personal observation, he collected from others many things concerning countries which he did not visit. Considering the very favourable circumstances in which he was placed for geographical research, as well as his indomitable passion for travelling, which appears to have grown with every fresh means of gratification, it is not marvellous that, after a lifetime of wandering in Asia, he should have returned to Europe the wonder of mankind, and stored with facts hitherto unknown to his western contemporaries. His information, indeed, was so far in advance of his age, that his veracity was exposed to the most injurious suspicions. The people of Europe stood amazed while they listened to his descriptions of vast regions whose names even they had never heard: and his representations of their opulence, fertility, trade, populousness, power, and glory, sounded like a fiction. Nor can it be wondered that all sober-minded men were slow to believe his romantic reports. The traveller appears to have surveyed India less with the eye of an historian than with the eye of a poet. All his descriptions are imperial and magnificent, gorgeous, glorious, and altogether Asiatic. His description of the greatness of Kublai Khan

was most superb. The splendour of his court was all but celestial. The statements, however, of this celebrated traveller, deducting the obvious romance, are borne out in all essential points by the exacter knowledge of modern times.*

The effect of the accumulated testimony of those eastern travellers, was, to inflame the imagination of Europe, to excite the spirit of commercial cupidity, and to lead the minds of reflecting men to inquire into the best methods of establishing a communication with India. History is full of testimony to the astonishing eagerness with which the hearts of Europeans hungered and thirsted after a sight of the golden regions of Asia. This was subsequently a leading element in the mighty spirit which impelled, until crowned with success, the spirit of maritime discovery.

* See Marsden's Translation of Marco Polo's Travels.

CHAPTER III.

INVENTION OF THE COMPASS AND ITS EFFECTS ON MARITIME DISCOVERY.

Importance of the Compass—Phœnician Mariners—Their Colonies and Commerce—Founding of Carthage—Their Knowledge of Astronomy—Greek Navigation—Roman Navigation—The Genevese and others all coasted—Wonderful Effects of the Compass—Claims to the Invention—Remarkable Passage of Vitry—Chinese Acquaintance with the Compass—Its state in Europe before Gioia—Result of Investigation—Wonders of the Principle—Discovery of the Magnet—Variation of the Compass.

We now proceed to investigate the most important subject, in connexion with maritime discovery, that ever occupied the minds of men. That subject is the invention, properties, and use of the mariner's compass. The value of this wonderful instrument may best be perceived, by contrasting the state of navigation before and since its employment. From the flood till the founding of the tower of Babel, and the confusion of tongues, there was no navigation. Passing over the fictions of poetry, we are at once conducted both by sacred and profane history to the Phœnicians, as the earliest and ablest mariners of the ancient world. They made greater discoveries than all their contemporary nations; they planted colonies in most of the countries so discovered; and they established trade and commerce in the most distant regions. The facts of their naval power, and of the wealth and greatness resulting from it, are fully established by the Prophet Ezekiel.* According to him, Tyre appears to have been the England of ancient times. No description more expressive of the most extended commerce, of boundless wealth, and matchless splendour, was ever drawn by the hand of man.

* See Ezek. xxvii.

All history is full of the same subject. One of the first expeditions of the Phœnicians was on the coast of Africa, where they founded Carthage, which, in after ages, so long contended with Rome for the sovereignty of the world. In their onward course, they extended their dominions into Spain; and having coasted it round, they pursued their discoveries along the margin of France, and crossed the Channel to Great Britain, with which they established a trade in tin and other commodities afforded by that country.* Nor were they confined to the Mediterranean and Western Ocean; for they conducted Solomon's fleets to Ophir,† the most probable opinions respecting which are, that it lay in the East Indies; nor is there the least show of reason in support of any other view.‡

Now the wonder is, how they could perform such voyages without the aid of the compass; for it is impossible that they could always have sailed by day, and anchored at night, or continually have kept within sight of land, from which tempests must often have driven them into the open sea, or have dashed them in pieces on the rocks of leeward shores. This wonder, however, is at once cleared up by the statement of ancient authors, who unanimously inform us that they were directed by the course of the sun and by the stars. The science of this species of guidance they cultivated to the utmost; and during voyages of limited extent, in fine weather, in genial climes, and in the summer season, much was accomplished without further aid. But this is the utmost that can safely be claimed on their behalf.§ In winter and foul weather they were confined to port, or exposed to the greatest peril.

Next in order to the Phœnicians in maritime affairs were the Greeks, who learned this art of them, and in respect of the use of shipping, for purposes of war, excelled them; but in no other respect did they contribute to the improvement of navigation. The Greeks, also, during the days of their

* See Procopius, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus.

† 1 Kings, ix. 27.

‡ See Locke's History of Navigation, Works, vol. x. p. 363.

§ Ibid., p. 364.

deceitful prosperity, and even in adverse times, never ceased sending out colonies upon all the coasts of the Mediterranean, and particularly of Asia, Spain, France, Italy, and Sicily. The Romans succeeded the Greeks as the warlike masters of the ocean; and while the empire continued in splendour, they preserved the system of navigation as they found it, but added no substantial improvement. When the empire was overrun by the barbarous nations of the North, this art, with all others, declined. The first of these were the Goths and Vandals, who knew little of maritime affairs. The Saracens, who next followed, did not much excel their predecessors. Then came the Normans, who were at best but desperate pirates, infesting the shores of France and Britain; and although occasionally they took longer voyages, they always coasted, and never ventured into the open ocean. The Genoese, Venetians, English, French, Danes, and Dutch, all in their turns, were powerful at sea; and they all wandered, sometimes, far from home for purposes of robbery, conquest, or commerce; but they all in the same manner crept along the shores, which inevitably involved them in perpetual dangers, and greatly retarded their progress. Having no guides but sun and stars, when removed from the sight of land,—guides at best not very certain, and often wholly unavailing,—they dared not venture out to sea. Thus circumstanced, as the main outlines of discovery then stood, mariners must have remained for ever in a measure stationary, but for the wonderful discovery of the compass.

The mysterious needle has fairly opened to man the dominion of the ocean. It supplies to the navigator a light sufficient to guide him from pole to pole, and around our globe. Led by this incomprehensible but faithful conductor, he can now stand boldly forth into the wilderness of waters, and, regardless of land, sun, or star, explore his wondrous way, amid storm and tempest, from country to country, and from clime to clime, with unfailing precision and rejoicing confidence. It has in all respects incredibly augmented both the speed and the safety of maritime movements. It has given a new impulse to enterprise upon the ocean, and changed the entire character of navigation.

Much interest must for ever attach to the discovery of this instrument; and yet there are few subjects concerning which less is known. For a period, the honour of the invention was ascribed to Gioia, a pilot or ship-captain, born at Pasitano, a small village situated near Melphi or Amalfi, about the end of the thirteenth century. His claims, however, have been disputed. According to some, he did not invent but improve it; and according to others, he did neither. Much learning and labour have been bestowed upon the subject of the discovery. It has been maintained by one class, that even the Phœnicians were the inventors; by another, that the Greeks and Romans had a knowledge of it. Such notions, however, have been completely refuted. One passage, nevertheless, of a very remarkable character, occurs in the work of Cardinal de Vitry, bishop of Ptolemais in Syria. He went to Palestine during the fourth crusade, about the year 1204; he returned afterwards to Europe, and subsequently went back to the Holy Land, where he wrote his work entitled "Historia Orientalis," as nearly as can be determined, between the year 1215 and 1220. In Chapter xci. of that work he has this singular passage:—"The iron needle, after contact with the loadstone, constantly turns to the north star, which, as the axis of the firmament, remains immoveable, whilst the others revolve; and hence it is essentially necessary to those navigating on the ocean."*

These words are as explicit as they are extraordinary; they state a fact, and announce a use. The thing, therefore, which essentially constitutes the compass, must have been known long before the birth of Gioia. In addition to this fact, there is another equally fatal to his claims, as the original discoverer: it is now settled beyond a doubt that the Chinese were acquainted with the compass long before the Europeans.† It is certain that there are allusions to the magnetic needle in the traditionary period of Chinese history

* "Acus ferrea, postquam adamantem contigerit, ad stellam septentrionalem, quæ vel utaxis firmamenti, aliis vergentibus, non movetur, semper convertitur; unde valde necessarius est navigantibus in mari."

† See Travels of Macartney and Barrow; Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tome xlvi. pp. 549, 551; and Locke's Hist. of Navigation. This fact had escaped the notice of Dr. Johnson. See his Introduction to the World Displayed.

about 2,600 years before Christ; and a still more credible account of it is found in the reign of Ching-wang, of the Chow dynasty, before Christ 1114.* All this, however, may be granted, without in the least impairing the just claims of Gioia to the gratitude of mankind. The truth appears to be this: the position of Gioia, in relation to the compass, was precisely that of Watt in relation to the steam-engine—the element existed; he augmented its utility.

The compass used by mariners in the Mediterranean, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was a very uncertain and unsatisfactory apparatus. It consisted only of a magnetic needle, floating in a vase or basin by means of two straws or a bit of cork, supporting it on the surface of the water. The compass used by the Arabians, in the thirteenth century, was an instrument of exactly the same description. Now the inconvenience and inefficiency of such an apparatus are obvious; the agitation of the ocean and the tossing of the vessel might render it useless in a moment. But Gioia placed the magnetized needle on a pivot, which permits it to turn to all sides with facility. Afterwards it was attached to a card, divided into thirty-two points, called Rose des Vents; and then the box containing it was suspended in such a manner, that, however the vessel might be tossed, it would always remain horizontal.

The result of an investigation participated by men of various nations, and possessing the highest degree of competency, may thus be stated. The discovery of the directive virtue of the magnet was made anterior to the time of Gioia. Before that period, navigators, both in the Mediterranean and Indian seas, employed the magnetic needle; but Gioia, by his invaluable improvement in the principle of suspension, is fully entitled to the honour of being considered the real inventor, in Europe, of the compass as it now exists.†

Such is the history of this invaluable instrument; but who

* See Medhurst's China, pp. 101, 102, a most masterly exhibition of its state and prospects.

† Mr. Locke has been quite misled by the opinions of his contemporaries; the question is now for ever set at rest by Father Fournier and Montucla. See Fournier's Hydrographie, liv. xi. chap. i.; and Art. Gioia, Ency. Brit.

shall develope the mystic principle of the wonders which it exhibits? Among the physical marvels of our world, it stands alone; no other power in nature claims to share its celestial functions. The mystery of the magnet itself is wholly inscrutable; but the virtue which its magic touch imparts to the needle doubles our perplexity.

According to the learned Bochart, the loadstone, or magnet, was first found in the country of Magnesia, which is a part of Lydia in Asia; and the Magnesians first discovered its power of attracting iron.* Passing by its other qualities, which are foreign to our subject, it is certain that the magnet has two poles, answering to the poles of our world, to which they naturally incline—if there be no obstruction—to lie parallel; and the instant it touches the nautical needle, the point so touched partakes its nature, and unites with it in obeying its Creator's law. Hence the half million of needles, more or less, which, at this moment, are dancing and acting on the oceans of our globe, are all pointing with the most marvellous unanimity to its poles.

Natural philosophers have laboured, with intense study, to discover the reason of the northern tendency of the needle; but all such studies have issued only in the discovery of their own ignorance. There is the fact, but the reason will probably remain for ever wrapped in the darkest obscurity. The variation of the compass likewise has equally baffled the curiosity of man. This variation was first noticed by Columbus, as will afterwards appear, on his voyage to America; and it arises when the needle does not point out the true pole, but inclines more or less either to the east or west; and it is not certain, but differs according to different places, yet holding always the same in the same place; and this variation is found by observing the sun or stars. Some philosophers have ascribed the cause of this variation to magnetical mountains, some to the pole itself, some to the heavens, and some to a magnetic power even beyond the heavens; but all such ascriptions are blind conjectures—disguises of ignorance. There is also

* Geographia Sacra, p. 717.

the variation of the variation; but leaving these inscrutable secrets, we now proceed to rehearse the results of this wonderful gift of God to man.

It will shortly appear, that it was not till a considerable time after the discovery of this instrument, that it came into full operation, and mankind began to reap its immense benefits. Ancient habits are renounced slowly, and with reluctance. By a wise provision of our nature, men are averse to change and new experiments, and make them with timidity. The art of steering by the compass, with such skill and accuracy as to inspire full confidence in its direction, could only be acquired by degrees. It was necessarily a thing of time and patient practice. Sailors, unaccustomed to quit sight of the land, durst not at once launch out, and commit themselves to unknown oceans. Accordingly, near half a century elapsed, from the time of Gioia's discovery, before navigators ventured into any seas which they had not been accustomed to frequent.*

* See Robertson's History of America, book i.; Locke's Hist. of Nav.

PART SECOND.

MARITIME DISCOVERY IN THE EAST.

CHAPTER I.

CHARACTER AND PURSUITS OF PRINCE HENRY OF PORTUGAL.

Studies of the Prince—Intercourse with the Moors—Adam Smith's opinion—Motives of Henry—Henry's chief Supporters—Principles of his Agents.

Don Henry, Duke of Viseo, and Grand Master of the Order of Christ, was the fifth son of John I. of Portugal. This prince was endowed with a sublime and penetrating genius; he was strongly addicted to the study of geography, mathematics, and astronomy; and he drew around him learned men, distinguished travellers, and skilful mariners, of every country. To this illustrious prince, Portugal, instrumentally, stands indebted for all the glory of her discoveries and conquests in the regions of the East. After serving with great bravery under his father at the capture of Ceuta, at that time the strongest Moorish garrison in Africa, he was raised to the dukedom of Viseo, and sent back, with a large reinforcement, to preserve the conquest to which his own courage had so largely contributed. This was an important event in the history of mankind. While holding the command at Ceuta, the prince acquired much information from the Moors, who were accustomed to travel by land into the interior provinces in quest of ivory, gold dust, and other rich wares, relative to the seas and coasts of Western Africa, to the Nomadic tribes of the Great Desert, and to the nations of the Jaloofs, whose territories border upon the Desert on the north, and on Guinea to the south. This small crusade, for such it was, may be considered as the first act towards opening the portals of our world. The doubling of the Cape, and the development of the oceans of the East,

may be traced from the day when the flag of Portugal was first planted by this great prince on the northern promontory of Ceuta.

A great modern writer has alleged, that Henry was instigated to his first attempts at maritime discovery, by the desire of finding a passage to those realms whence the Moors brought ivory and gold dust across the Desert.* To a mere political economist it was natural for such an idea to present itself; but to restrict this prince's motives to such an origin, were to do an act of great injustice to his extraordinary character. According to the age in which he lived, and the circumstances which he was placed in, Henry was a true Christian, and possessed a spirit of the most exalted devotion. No Grand Master of the Order of Christ ever possessed, upon the whole, so much of the spirit of Christ. The religion of the prince purified his motives, and elevated his designs; and the propagation of the gospel was the sublime object of all his enterprises.† It is also a fact of much importance that, from the first, the prime supporters of the prince in Portugal were the ministers of religion. While the multitude were indifferent, and the nobles and statesmen were opposed, the clergy rose in a body, and bore down the opposition; and, inspired with ardent zeal for the diffusion of what they deemed the gospel in new countries, they promoted the prince's projects of discovery to the utmost of their power.‡ If we may rely upon the historic testimony of Caude, Garibay, Quintana, Ferreras, Yriarte, and others, Henry was urged on through life by the resistless impulse of a sincere desire to spread the gospel, according to the imperfect notions which he entertained of its nature and character. This spirit was essential to his office of Grand Master, for it was the duty of his order to use every effort "to conquer and convert all who denied the truth of their holy religion." However much we may deprecate conquest as a means of bringing mankind over from idolatry, the fact of the prince's motive remains the same, and that

* See Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. ii. p. 347.

† See Clarke's Hydrography, p. 149.

‡ See Dissertation prefixed to De Gama's first voyage.

motive was indisputably a desire, both strong and pure, to diffuse a knowledge of Christianity, such as it then existed in his mind, and in Europe. It is not denied, that the desire of gold and empire may have chiefly animated the bulk of the minor agencies employed in the accomplishment of the mighty enterprises carried on by Henry, but it was certainly a principle of a higher order which animated himself; while, at the same time, it is not contended, that he was insensible to the temporal good, and the political greatness of his country.

We have now reached a period in the world's history which enables us to form a very different estimate of the prince's undertakings and achievements, from that in which they were held by his contemporaries. He was the Founder of the School of Modern Navigation. He merits, in the highest degree, the praise of invention,—the chief attribute and the principal test of genius. Henry had no predecessor, and he was his own patron. He drew on the resources of his capacious understanding at once for guidance and for encouragement. His rank, fortune, and royal relationships were greatly subservient to his glorious object; and every advantage, arising from these accidents of his birth, was zealously devoted to his maritime enterprises. Forsaking the court, the cabinet, and the camp, he wedded the ocean; and in youth, mature years, and old age, hers was his whole heart, and to her he dedicated all his talents, time, and labours. This great prince was clearly raised up by heaven for the performance of the exalted part assigned him; and, when the last abode of savage man shall have been discovered, when the voice of the missionary shall have sounded the accents of mercy in every ear of the human family, when the gospel of Christ shall have subdued the earth, and blended all nations into one, when an enlightened and Christian commerce shall have waved her flag on every shore, and diffused her blessings through every clime, then, an instructed, a liberated, and a regenerated world, will exhibit the consummation of the work begun by Don Henry, Duke of Viseo.

CHAPTER II.

DISCOVERY UNDER THE AUSPICES OF PRINCE HENRY.

First Voyage of Discovery—Cape Non—Cape Bojador—Henry at Sagres—Maritime Pursuits—Voyage of the Egyptians—Opinion of Polybius, Strabo, and Ptolemy—Sudden dispatch of two Vessels—Discovery of Porto Santo—First Departure from the old Method of Coasting—First Colony—Spectre in the Ocean—Dread Voyage—Discovery of Madeira—Popular Prejudice—Appeal to the Pope—Henry's Success—His Zeal for Missions.

THREE years before the reduction of Ceuta, in 1412, and while the fleet was being equipped, Henry had sent a vessel to explore the western coast of Africa;* and that was the first voyage of discovery undertaken by the Portuguese, or by any nation, in modern times. The commander was instructed to proceed along the western coast of Africa to the south of Cape Chaunar, extending itself from the foot of Mount Atlas, and called by the Portuguese mariners Cape Nao, Nam, or Non, which, as its name implies, had hitherto been the impassable limit of European navigation. The result is not recorded; but Henry continued to send vessels annually to the same coast, and at length they passed the Cape; but their progress was arrested, at the distance of sixty leagues further south, by the tremendous Cape Bojador, which stretched far into the ocean: here the sea raged on the shoals, which break its mighty waves, over a distance of six leagues. In addition to dangers seen and present, the trembling seamen had to contend with those of the imagination, which, in concurrence with popular ideas, represented the south as the region of burning soil, of fiery flames, of scorching vapours, and of gloomy shades, without a name. They viewed it with terror at a distance; but dared not proceed. They returned, therefore, and reported to the prince the events of their voyage.

* Dr. Robertson has ascribed this to the king, instead of the prince. History of America, book i.

The prince, on returning from Ceuta, fixed his residence at Sagres, in the neighbourhood of Cape St. Vincent. At this romantic spot he pursued his studies in cosmography, mathematics, astronomy, and navigation. Here he constructed arsenals and dockyards; and here, by his own presence, he improved the skill and stimulated the industry of his shipwrights. Under his auspices, the mariner's compass was brought into general use; a knowledge of the longitude and latitude, and the means by which they could be ascertained by astronomical observation, increased the competency of his seamen. A public school for nautical instruction, and an observatory, were also established, which enjoyed the presidence of Diego, an inhabitant of Majorca, celebrated for his skill in navigation and the construction of charts.

It is related that Necho, King of Egypt, fitted out a Phœnician fleet, which sailed from a port in the Red Sea, about the year 604 before the Christian era; and that this fleet, proceeding along the eastern coast of Africa, doubled its southern promontory, and, after a voyage of three years, returned by the Straits of Gades to the mouth of the Nile. This wonderful voyage, the fact of which modern science has, in our view, abundantly confirmed, was deemed a fable, chiefly for the very reasons that now serve to establish its truth. Even by sages it was treated as a fiction. Long after the instructive recital of the events of the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phœnicians, Polybius himself, the most learned and intelligent historian of antiquity, records, that it was unknown whether Africa was a continued continent, stretching towards the south, or whether it was surrounded by the sea; Strabo confessed his ignorance of its form; and even Ptolemy, the most inquisitive, enlightened, and accurate geographer of early times, supposed that Africa extended without interruption to the south pole, and became broader and broader as it advanced.

When Henry attained to a settled conviction that those doctrines were founded in error, and became speculatively satisfied of the possibility of sailing round Africa, and of thus opening up a new line of countries for the operations of Christianity and commerce onward to the East Indies, he

advanced in the prosecution of his projects with augmented energy. He built and collected vessels in the harbour of Sagres, and sent them forth upon successive voyages of discovery. The dispatch of the first two was one morning determined so suddenly, that it was vulgarly believed the prince had, during the preceding night, been favoured with an especial revelation from heaven upon the subject—a mark of divine favour, of which his great devotion and the distinguished purity of his morals were considered to render him not unworthy.

Somewhere about the year 1418, Henry, having determined to surmount the perils of Bojador, and to pass beyond it, fitted out a new expedition, in which Juan Gonzales Zarco and Tristan Vaz Texeira, two naval officers of the prince's household, volunteered their services, and, embarking, steered for the tremendous Cape. They were not, however, permitted even to approach it; for, after encountering many dangers, a heavy gale came on, and drove them in its fury out to the open sea. Having lost their bearings, and given themselves up to despair, they were wafted onward by the tempest about a hundred leagues to the south-west of Africa, when the violence of the gale unexpectedly abated; and, to their unutterable joy, they approached an island, which, in grateful recognition of divine providence, they called *Porto Santo*, Holy Haven.* This island was the smaller of the Madeiras; and the voyage to and from it was the first, upon record, of a fair abandonment, in Europe, of the ancient method of coasting, and an adoption of the new principle of stretching boldly forth into the open ocean; for although carried out involuntarily by the breath of the tempest, they found their way back by the aid of the compass.

This small island was found to be inhabited by natives in an intermediate state of civilization, but entirely divested of savage ferocity. The discoverers, Zarco and Vaz, immediately returned to Portugal, and reported to the prince the incidents of the voyage, requesting at the same time permission to return and settle upon the island, a favour which was

* De Barros, Decad. i. lib. i. cap. ii.

readily granted. Three vessels accordingly were fitted out, and ample provision made to colonize and cultivate the island.

Soon after the settlement of the colony, the attention of Zarco and Vaz was strongly excited by the observation of certain clouds or vapours at a great distance in the ocean, which continually presented the same aspect, and preserved exactly the same bearing, from *Porto Santo*. Some believed it to be a dreadful abyss. Superstition, aided by her all-powerful glass, traced, amid the gloom, the inscription and portal of Dante. The dismal object continued to brood on the waves, and stretch to the heavens. The mariners dared not to approach for the purpose of a closer inspection, and the mystery remained undeveloped, till Zarco returned to Portugal, when he petitioned an explanation from the prince. But neither Henry, nor his sages and scientific men, could throw the smallest light upon it. Previous to his return, however, he procured a Spanish pilot, who had heard a tradition that there was an island somewhere in that latitude, to which, many ages before, Machin or Macham, an Englishman, had been carried by a storm, and from which, while he was on shore, the crew were driven back by a hurricane to the coast of Morocco, and reduced to slavery among the Moors. Zarco and the pilot, on returning to Porto Santo, were cordially received by Vaz. The pilot, on being shown the dreadful shade, defied its terrors, and declared his opinion, that it was the island of Machin. After consultation, it was agreed that the expedition to examine it should be delayed at least till the change of the moon, when some alteration might take place in the appearance of the alarming spectre. Its dismal form, however, still remained in its wonted attitude. The sagacious pilot proceeded to philosophize upon the subject, and to account for the phenomena on natural principles; but his only convert was Zarco. Finding that superstitious fear was deaf to argument, they secretly determined to set sail on the first favourable morning, without apprizing the rest of their intentions. Accordingly, when the Portuguese least expected it, the vessels, at daybreak, were found boldly standing under a press of sail

towards the dreadful abyss. The firmness of Zarco and the pilot only tended to augment the alarms of the other persons on board. As they approached the terrible object, its horrors seized on the imagination of the Portuguese; anxious suspense arose to agony beyond endurance; and they, with one voice, implored Zarco to desist from a course which must inevitably terminate in their destruction. Zarco and the pilot, however, succeeded to soothe them, and held on their course. As they approached the island, the haze and vapour which continually hung upon it gradually lessened; but the noise of the waves, of course, increased; and something of a deeper shade was feebly discerned through the gloom. Some of the people, probably catching a faint glance of the rocks which line the shore, exclaimed, that they saw giants of terrible stature! As the vessels neared the island, a point of land opened on the bewildered spectators. They doubled that point, when the high land to the south extended before them, clothed in all its varied and attractive beauties. It was uninhabited, and covered with wood: hence they called it Madeira. This island, too, was immediately colonized and cultivated.

Henry, encouraged by these valuable discoveries, resumed his operations on the coast of Africa with redoubled vigour. The Portuguese, by their voyages to Madeira, had become gradually accustomed to a bolder, and, therefore, a much safer, navigation, and instead of servile creeping along the coast, we now have movement in the open sea. The prince became resolute in his determination to double Cape Bojador; but, in preparing for this enterprise, he had to encounter severe opposition. Ignorance, superstition, envy, false philosophy, combined to oppose his glorious progress. All sorts of arguments were raised against an attempt to pass beyond the fearful barrier of Bojador. The adverse current of popular folly ran so strong, that Henry found it difficult even to procure seamen. The religion of the prince, however, was an ever-present support to him, and he magnanimously resolved to oppose principle to passion, and truth to error, by steady perseverance. He, moreover, applied to the pope for assistance against a faction. He sent Lopez

d'Azevedo to treat with Martin V; and this faithful messenger enforced, in a full consistory, the claims of the cause of discovery and missions. The orator earnestly dwelt on the benefits which the Christian church had already received from the zeal of the prince; he reminded the cardinals that the blessings of religion had already been, by his means, received in countries where it had not previously been known; he insisted that this was the only way to resist the desolating progress of the false prophet, and to bring back the scattered sheep to the fold of the true shepherd; and he concluded by requesting his holiness to bless the labours of the naval profession, and to consecrate the memory of those who, in this great cause, had found a watery grave. His prayer was heard. The pope immediately granted an exclusive right to the Portuguese in the islands they already possessed, and also in all territories which they might in future discover from Cape Bojador to the East Indies; he further granted a plenary indulgence to the souls of all who might perish in the enterprise, and in recovering the nations of those regions to Christ and his church.*

Thus supported, the prince proceeded; and again, about the year 1433, he sent forth Gilianez to attempt the doubling of Bojador. This brave mariner succeeded in his object, and thus opened the vast continent of Africa, still washed by the Atlantic Ocean, and stretching onward to the south. The successful mariner returned to Portugal, and rehearsed the wonders of his voyage, stating, that beyond the Cape the soil and climate were both excellent. Gilianez was again sent forth the following year to prosecute the discovery of the coast. Thus voyage succeeded to voyage, and discovery was added to discovery, till Henry's navigators passed from Cape Bojador to Cape de Verd, and from the latter to the Gambia; and then followed the discovery and settlement of the Azores; and with this terminated the glorious life and labours of Henry, Duke of Viseo.

Justice to the Christian character of this great and illustrious prince, as well as to the spirit and object of the present

* Some historians place this event after the doubling of Bojador.—See Kerr, vol. ii. p. 185.

work, requires that the missionary element, in these operations, should be brought a little more fully out. With this view, in addition to what has been already stated, one or two of the various testimonies which have come down to us may be here set forth.

In the year 1441, a young officer of Henry's, Antonio Gonzales, made a voyage to a spot on the coast which had been previously discovered, to make a more thorough survey of the country and its inhabitants. The place in question was noted for an abundance of sea-wolves; and that the voyage might be attended with some commercial advantage, he was commissioned to procure a cargo of the skins of these creatures. The gallant officer, however, knew that this was, in the sight of his master, a very subordinate consideration; and accordingly, when the freight was obtained, he thus, in an address to his people, declared his zeal for the service in which he was engaged; and, although somewhat confusedly, set forth the character and object of his master: "Let us strive, my friends, to carry home a more valuable acquisition to the prince than these furs; let us endeavour to penetrate this inhospitable country; the intention of the duke is not so much to open a trade on the coast, as to *convert its natives to Christianity.*"

Again, when, in the year 1446, the prince fitted out a squadron of three vessels to heal the divisions which prevailed among the negroes in the Rio-del-Ouro, he illustrated his admirable character by his excellent instructions. Before they embarked, he "earnestly enjoined them, when they had entered the Rio-del-Ouro, to cultivate the friendship of the inhabitants by every possible means; to establish peace among them; and to use their utmost diligence in making *converts to the Christian religion.*"* These facts speak at once to both the piety and the missionary motives of the prince, and present a most affecting contrast to the spirit, motives, and conduct of the Portuguese in after ages.

* Clarke, book i. chap. ii., page 210.

CHAPTER III.

DISCOVERY OF CONGO AND ITS CATHOLIC MISSION.

Alphonso's Discoveries—Colony at Mina—First Mass in Guinea—Renewal of the Papal Grant—Discoveries of Diego Cam—Africans arrive at Lisbon—Return to their Country—King of Congo—Embassy to Portugal—Baptism—Mission to Benin—Return to Congo—A savage Scene—Royal Baptism—Gospel of Popery—Contest about Polygamy—Civil War for Wives and Idols—Success of the Mission—The Violence of the Priests—Lashing a Queen—A Smith claiming divine Honours—He renounces Divinity.

The progress of discovery experienced a temporary check from the death of the illustrious Henry; navigation languished from that period all the days of the reigning sovereign Alphonso, who died in 1481; but the work was not entirely neglected by that military king. In 1471, Juan de Santaren and Pedro de Escobar discovered the Oro de la Mina on the Gold Coast, and, advancing still further, they reached Cabo Catalina, or Cape St. Catherine, so named from the day of its discovery. This promontory forms the limit of the great kingdom of Congo, the coast of which extends thence in a curve to Cabo Negro, its southern boundary.

On the elevation of John II. to the throne of Portugal, the work of discovery was resumed, and conducted with all the energy which distinguished that extraordinary man. His first act was to build a fortress and a church at the port of Mina, all the requisite materials for which, even stones and tiles, were shipped from Lisbon in a squadron of ten vessels, with 500 soldiers, and 200 workmen of various descriptions; with a proper complement of priests as missionaries. This step of the young sovereign was strongly disapproved, under the pretext of reasons derived from the danger of the navigation, and the insalubrity of the soil. To these objections the noble-minded monarch promptly replied, "If one African be thus converted to the Faith, the

threatening obstacles will easily be surmounted." The squadron sailed on December 11th, 1481, and reached its destination on January 19th, 1482. On landing, the cavalcade proceeded to a large tree, on which they displayed the royal arms; an altar was then erected, and the whole company joined in the first mass that was celebrated in Guinea, and prayers were offered for the conversion of the idolatrous natives, and that the church, about to be founded, might continue for ever.

This resolute king, who entered deeply into all the views and projects of his grand uncle, the late Henry Duke of Viseo, entertained a strong conviction of the practicability of rounding Africa, and reaching India by sailing to the south. That he might secure his discoveries to the sceptre of his country, he applied to the Pope to repeat or confirm the grant which had been made to Henry, conferring a perpetual right to all the countries which the Portuguese had already discovered, or might afterwards find, towards the East, with a strict prohibition of all European states from any interference in that immense field of commerce and colonization. The pontiff, liberal in the bestowment of territory which he neither possessed nor knew, not only gave the grant up to the full extent of the letter of the enormous demand, but decreed and declared, that all discoveries, made in contravention of his high order, should belong to Portugal.*

Thus emboldened and secured, John II., in the year 1484, sent forth Diego Cam, who, sailing from Elmina on the Gold Coast, proceeded beyond Cape Catherine, the last of the discoveries made by King Alphonso, and reached the mouth of a river called by the negroes Zayre. He ascended its borders, and opened an intercourse with the natives, who showed a friendly disposition. Learning from them that they were governed by a king, who resided in the interior, he dispatched thither some of his own people with a handsome present under the guidance of a party of natives, who promised, within a given period, to bring back the messengers in safety. That period having expired, Diego prepared to leave the river; having prevailed on four of the principal

* Hakluyt, vol. i, p. 29.

natives to come on board that they might be instructed in the Portuguese language, and having made their countrymen on shore to comprehend that, after fifteen moons, they should be brought back in safety, and that meanwhile a number of his people had been left as hostages, he sailed for Lisbon. On his arrival, King John received him and the Africans with great satisfaction. They were men of consequence in their country, and of apprehension so quick, that, during the voyage, they had made sufficient progress in the language to answer many questions respecting their country, and the kingdoms beyond it to the south. King John showed them all possible kindness, and sent them back by Diego Cam at the appointed time, loaded with presents to their sovereign, and with an earnest request from the King of Portugal that he and his subjects would become converts to Christianity.

On Diego's arrival at the river Zayre, he was delighted to see, waiting on the shore, the men whom he had left as hostages, and delivered up the chiefs according to agreement. The King of Congo subsequently invited him to court, where he not only treated him with kindness, but also promised to embrace Christianity. The king asked many questions respecting the Christian system, and, professing to approve and admire its doctrines, he appointed one of his principal nobles, Cazuta or Zazut, to accompany Diego as his ambassador to King John, anxiously requesting that the ambassador and his attendants might be instructed and baptized, and that missionaries might be sent to teach himself and his subjects, and to convert them from their idolatrous ways. Diego Cam arrived safely with the ambassador in Portugal, where Zazut, with his sable attendants, was treated with kindness and respect for the space of two years; and, after much instruction, they were baptized, the King and Queen of Portugal doing the ambassador the honour of standing sponsors. The King of Congo, however, was not the first to move in the affair of missions. The King of Benin had, some time previously, sent an ambassador to Portugal requesting that missionaries might be sent to him; a number were accordingly dispatched to his dominions,

which lay to the north of Congo, and many converts to the Catholic profession were made by their labours.

In the year 1490, the Congo ambassador and his suite returned to their native country, with a body of the Portuguese, who were received by the King of Congo with much barbaric splendour. The savage sovereign was seated in the midst of a large park, upon an ivory chair, raised on a platform. This monarch of the wilderness was appropriately arrayed in the rich and glossy skins of wild beasts; from his left arm a bracelet of brass was suspended; the tail of a horse dangled from his shoulder; and his royal head was covered with a bonnet of fine cloth woven from the palm tree. The savage soldiery, worthy of their skin-clad lord, approached in three lines, with horns, drums, and divers instruments of noise and uproar, rending the air with shouts so tremendous as to baffle all that the Europeans had ever heard. The king frankly gave the Portuguese full permission to erect a church; and, on the expression of a murmur from some of his attendants, he instantly offered to put them to death—an act deprecated and prevented by the Portuguese. The king himself and all his nobles were instructed and baptized, and the most ample scope allowed to the Catholic missionaries for the diffusion of their doctrines.

What an opening for the spread of the truth was here! But the wretched priests could not teach what they had not learned; and instead of inculcating the doctrines of the cross, and declaring the counsel of God, they amused the natives with trifles! Beads, images, crucifixes, processions, rich vestments, imposing ceremonies, lying legends, and heathenish mummery—these were, as these still are, the gospel of Popery! The natives were dazzled, but not illumined; they were led to view the religion of Jesus Christ as nothing more than a gay and gorgeous pageant, and an attendance on its ordinances as an exciting pastime. In this way dupes, denominated converts, were made in vast numbers.

One curious fact, in relation to morals, was elicited by the missionaries. They were soon appalled by the multi-

tude of wives whom the chiefs and princes of Africa had espoused, and whom it seemed their study and their pride to multiply. The missionaries insisted that their converts should select one, and repudiate the rest. The exaction of Christian duties from unchristian men tries their spirits. This was viewed as an intolerable outrage of the rights of rank; it was to subvert one of the most valued and venerated institutions of Congo! The aged sovereign at once resented the insult, and lifted the standard of rebellion against the new system. To him it seemed a privation so intolerable, that he gave his baptism to the winds, renounced the profession he had thereby made, and cleaved, with all his heart, to his wives and his idols. To Alphonso, a zealous convert, and the youthful heir apparent, there seemed nothing so very terrible or self-denied in the new system; he, therefore, braved the wrath of his royal parent, and remained attached to the Portuguese. Death soon rid the old man of his fears, and the priests of an opponent.

Alphonso, in point of title, should now have ascended the throne; but his brother, Panso Aquitimo, claimed it, and dexterously raised the standard of revolt in support of the two great popular idols—polygamy and paganism—a course in which he was supported by the nobles, and nearly the whole nation. A civil war immediately ensued; and the prince stood almost alone, having few, besides a handful of Portuguese, to oppose to the innumerable host of his rebel countrymen. The brave Portuguese, however, faithfully adhered to the abandoned prince; and superstition came to the aid of her votaries. The apparition—as the Catholics believed—in the clouds, at one time of St. James, and at another of the Virgin Mary, always rendered the prince victorious. The arms and discipline of the Portuguese at length seated Alphonso firmly on the throne of his ancestors; and the safe and comfortable establishment, at least for a time, of the Catholics in Congo, followed as a consequence.

Congo having become the stronghold of the Catholic mission, and the station having been reinforced by successive bodies of brethren from Portugal, they spread over the neighbouring countries, Sundi, Pango, Concobella, and Mao-

pongo, many tracts of which were rich and populous, though enveloped in a mist of gross darkness. In these regions, seeing that their gospel had but little of the offence of the cross, they were everywhere received with open arms; the people poured in crowds to gaze on their splendid ceremonies; they cordially accepted their sacred gifts; and received by thousands the rite of baptism. Auricular confession, however, or that which led to it, was not so welcome. Reaction and revulsion immediately followed. The popularity of the missionaries was much diminished, and their position became perilous. Some of them, indeed, with more zeal than discretion, adopted methods sufficient to have brought sudden destruction upon the whole fraternity. When persuasion failed to bring the people off from their superstitions, they used a large staff, with which they smashed their idols to pieces; and they sometimes stole secretly into the temples, and set them on fire. It had been well if physical violence had been confined to the gods; but it extended to their worshippers. A missionary at Maopongo, finding one of the queens averse to receive his dogmas, determined to unite the rod with reproof, and, seizing a whip, began to apply it lustily to her majesty's person! The miscreant describes the effect as most auspicious; every successive lash was accompanied with illumination! The logic of such facts could not be long resisted; this she avowed, and professed to become a convert! She fled, however, to the king, her husband, and detailed the barbarities of the priest. As the wages of their folly, the missionaries from that hour lost the favour both of the king and of his court.

The above method of conversion was likewise successfully applied on another occasion, of a less reprehensible character. The smith—always a mighty favourite with savages, from the importance which attaches to the instruments of his manufacture—was viewed as possessing superhuman skill and power. He was thus encouraged to advance pretensions to deity, and his impious claims were very generally admitted. The missionaries appealed to the king on this point; and his majesty, thinking the artisan carried the matter so far that it endangered the prerogatives of royalty,

delivered him up to the missionaries to be divested of his divinity, and reduced to the dimensions of ordinary mortality, by such methods as they might deem most expedient. They tried reason, but reason failed; they employed persuasion, but the charm of popular adoration resisted it; they, lastly and wisely, tried the lash! The smith, abandoned by his deluded disciples, still boldly maintained his claim to divine honours. The application, however, of a little more power lowered his claims; the blood began at length to flow from his back and shoulders in streams, and, under this incontrovertible proof that he was a partaker of the common humanity, he yielded his claims, and confessed himself a wicked mortal man.

CHAPTER IV.

DISCOVERY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Maritime Views of John II.—Correct Views of Africa—Expedition of Diaz—The Cape doubled—Cross erected—A remarkable Death—Dr. Philip—The Cape named—Camoens' Lines—Prester John—Mission of Covillam and De Payva—A remarkable Mass—Important Testimony of Covillam—Death and Zeal of John—His Character—His Zeal for Missions.

King John, encouraged by the success of Diego Cam, became increasingly ardent in his maritime pursuits. Inheriting at once the genius and spirit of his grand uncle, Prince Henry, he cordially adopted his favourite doctrine of the possibility of sailing round Africa. From various modes of inquiry, his conviction of the entire practicability of this great object became stronger day by day. In fact the possibility, and the ultimate accomplishment of it, are assumed in the original grant of Martin V.* to Henry, and in the grant of Eugene IV. to John II., confirmed by Nicholas V. and Sextus IV.; and King John was now firmly bent upon its achievement.

From enlarged intercourse with the Africans, the Portuguese gradually increased their knowledge of those regions of Africa which they had not visited. The information supplied by the natives, combined with their own observation and experience, all favoured the notion, that Africa might be circumnavigated. They found that the African continent, instead of extending in breadth, according to the doctrine of Ptolemy, and consequently bending towards the west, gradually contracted itself, and sensibly inclined to the east. They were thus daily more disposed to credit the tradition of the circumnavigation of it by the Phœnicians, which had long been treated as a fable.

* Dr. Robertson is clearly in error on this point. See Progress of Maritime Discovery, pp. 184, 185. See also Codex Jus. Gent. Diplomat., pars i. p. 489.

By a masterly and grand conception, the king resolved at once to make for the southern extremity of the continent, abandoning the previous method of progressive discovery along the African shore. For this purpose he fitted out three small vessels, of which he gave the command to Bartholomew Diaz, a man of deep skill, great prudence, and invincible courage, with Pedro Diaz his brother, and Juan Infante, a gentleman of the court. The little squadron having been completed, Commodore Diaz sailed in the end of August, 1486, steering directly to the south. This memorable voyage was by far the most adventurous and important that the Portuguese had ever projected. Diaz, on his way, landed on the coast of Africa at Sierra Parda, a distance of 120 leagues beyond any preceding navigator; there he erected a stone pillar or marble cross. Having left this monument, which, in the event of his never returning, would at least attest his advancement thus far, he embarked, and, stretching boldly out to sea, he touched upon the coast no more till he had advanced forty leagues to the eastward of the Cape, which he had passed without descrying it. Proceeding still onwards, he touched at a small island or rock, where, to mark his progress, he erected a second stone pillar and cross, a circumstance from which he named the island Santa Cruz. This place is situated in what is now called Algoa Bay.

Diaz was still unconscious of his glorious achievement; he had no conception that he had doubled or sailed round the southern promontory of Africa, and was now upon its east coast. Under the impression, therefore, that he had not yet accomplished the grand object of his enterprise, he was anxious to continue his voyage still further towards the east. As, however, the provisions both of his own vessel and that of Juan were nearly exhausted, and the third vessel—the victualling tender, commanded by his brother—was missing, the crews became exceedingly urgent for permission to return, lest they should perish through famine. Much mortified at the thought of failure, the commodore with difficulty prevailed upon them to continue their course about twenty-five leagues further. They accordingly reached the mouth of a river, which was discovered by Juan Infante, and, therefore,

called Rio del Infante, now known as Great Fish River. The coast still bent eastwards, with a slight inclination towards the north, so that, in an eastern course of about thirteen degrees, they had got to the north about six degrees, while quite ignorant that they had cleared the southern point of Africa.*

Repulsed and arrested only by the prospect of famine, the great navigator, with his brave companions, was now constrained to return. Their surprise and joy may be conceived, when, on their course back, they beheld the long-looked for and tremendous promontory, which, for the long period of seventy-four years, had been the grand object of desire, search, and hope to the mariners of Portugal. Diaz straightway went on shore, and erected a third pillar and cross, which he dedicated to St. Philip.† One thing was wanting to complete the joy and triumph of this glorious day; the third vessel, commanded by the brother of the commodore, was missing, and had not been seen for nine long months. To add to their satisfaction, however, they soon after met with her, but in circumstances little calculated to increase their felicity. Of nine men whom they had left in her, only three were alive; the rest, when on shore, had been murdered by the blacks; and of these survivors one, Fernand Collazzo, expired of joy on again beholding his countrymen. After thus completing a voyage of unprecedented length and success, and earning for himself an immortal fame, Diaz returned to Portugal after an absence of nearly one year and six months.

When the commodore returned, he detailed to the king the events of his voyage, and made emphatic mention of dreadful gales which he endured in the neighbourhood of

* From this it will be seen that Dr. Robertson has fallen into an error. See History of America, vol. i. p. 79—p. 743 of Robinson's edition. Clarke thinks he was misled by Lufiteau; but it is probable that Herrera, whom he so uniformly follows, had contributed to the mistake. See Clarke, p. 343.

† The reader will probably smile on recognising the peculiar appropriateness of the name of the saint selected for the tutelage of Africa, when he thinks of Dr. Philip, who has been the instrument of more good to the regions of South Africa than any other European who has ever trodden its shores. The future historians of that quarter of the globe will not fail to do justice to the author of the "Researches in South Africa," the liberator of the Hottentots, and the superintendent of the London Society's missions

the Cape, where he himself was subsequently swallowed up, and where so much European life and property have since been engulfed, which, on this account, he had denominated *Il Cabo dos tormentos*—The Cape of storms. The joyful king, however, exulting in the great discovery, and in the hope which it inspired of opening a sure passage by sea from Portugal through the Atlantic into the Indian Ocean, and onward to the golden regions beyond it, gave the terrible appellation a sprightly turn, and called the promontory by a more appropriate name, *Il Cabo del bueno esperanza*,* —The Cape of Good Hope, a designation it hath ever since borne, and probably will bear, till time shall be no more.

This was not the only service rendered to the cause of discovery in the days of this great king. Report had brought to the ears of Europe the name of an illustrious personage, Presbyter or Prester John, reputed to be a Christian, and the sovereign of a mighty empire. King John had previously turned his attention to this point, and actually despatched two individuals, who proceeded as far as Jerusalem, but were compelled to return for want of the language. Now, however, he selected two most accomplished Arabic scholars, Pedro de Covillam and Alphonso de Payva, to whom he gave the following instructions:—"To discover the country of Presbyter John; to trace the Venetian commerce for drugs and spices to its source; to ascertain whether it be possible for ships to sail round the southern extremity of Africa to India; and to take minute notes of every particular they could glean relative to that important navigation."†

* Camoens, the great epic poet of Portugal, who has sublimely sung the story of her maritime discoveries, has, on this event, penned the following vigorous lines:—

Dread roar'd the blast—the wave
Boils to the sky; the meeting whirlwinds rave
O'er the torn heavens; loud on their awe-struck ear
Great Nature seem'd to call, *Approach not here!*
At Lisboa's court they told their dread escape,
And, from her raging tempests, named the Cape.
Thou southmost point, the joyful king exclaimed,
Cape of Good Hope, *be thou for ever named!*

Lusiad, vol. ii. p. 289; Mickle's translation

† Progress of Maritime Discovery, p. 334.

The travellers left Lisbon in the month of May 1487, and, therefore, many months after the departure of Diaz. Connected with this remarkable journey, there is one fact which deserves especial notice. Emmanuel, then prince, and afterwards King of Portugal, put into Covillam's hands a map which had been copied and composed with much care and great secrecy, by Calzadilla, afterwards bishop of Viseo, and Moses, a Jewish physician, in the house of Peter of Alcazova. This map asserted the practicability of a passage round the extremity of Africa.

After much travel and inquiry, during which Payva was murdered, Covillam resolved to venture no further, till the stock of important facts which he had acquired had been transmitted to Portugal, and therefore returned to Egypt, where he met two messengers from King John, Rabbi Abraham of Beja, and Joseph of Lamego. By the latter of these Covillam immediately reported to the king,—"That the ships which sailed down the coast of Guinea might be sure of reaching the termination of the continent, by persisting in a course to the south; and that, when they should arrive in the Eastern Ocean, their best direction would be to inquire for Sofala, and the Island of the Moon."* The king at subsequent periods received frequent despatches from Covillam, full of the most important information. The traveller describes in his journal the several ports that he had seen in the Indies; the temper and disposition of the princes; the situation and riches of the mines of Sofala. He reported that the country was very populous, full of cities both wealthy and powerful. He humbly pressed his sovereign to prosecute, with unremitting vigour, the passage round Africa, which he declared to be attended with very little danger. He stated, that the Cape itself was well known in India. The testimony of Covillam, and the experience of Diaz, soon united in support of the great truth that Africa might be circumnavigated.

These were the principal events of the glorious career of John II. of Portugal—a prince of many virtues. He pos-

* Vincent's Periplus, p. 195.

sessed, in the fullest measure, every gift essential to a sovereign, and the number of sovereigns is small, indeed, who, in any one thing, admit of a comparison with him. When a ruler's deeds are great and good, his course is generally very short. This benefactor of his country was cut off October 25, 1495, at the early age of forty, in the fourteenth year of his reign. But, if he was not spared to see the path to India discovered by the ocean, he might be said, like Moses, to have seen the promised land. He went down to the sepulchre of his fathers in the assured confidence, that the great object of his public life would be speedily effected. His purposes were broken off, and his expectations disappointed; for his soul was fixed, with the utmost intensity, on the last stage of this stupendous enterprise. His burning anxiety consumed him. There can be little doubt that the serious illness, with which he was visited in 1493, was the result of his eagerness to realize this great project. So vehement were his longings, that his spirit, like the troubled sea, became incapable of rest. Sleep literally departed from his eyes. Determined on fitting out a squadron, he gave orders to John de Braganza, surveyor of the royal forests, to cut down timber for building two additional ships; but in the midst of his preparations, and in this state of feverish impatience, the great king was summoned into eternity.

The passion of this prince was the improvement of his country, and the promotion of its aggrandizement by maritime discovery. In this sense his motto might most truly have been that of the apostle: "This one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press towards the mark;" and that mark was—India! In many points, this monarch was justly supposed to bear a strong resemblance to Charlemagne. Like that illustrious prince, he was a devout worshipper at the altar of general justice, to the establishment of whose dominion he rendered power and wealth constantly subservient: like him, too, he not only promulgated wise laws, but rigorously enforced their impartial administration.

History never recorded a nobler example to potentates, than

that which is furnished by the reply of John to Alphonso Silva, the Castilian ambassador, who urged him to embark n continental politics, with all the hazard of broils and wars. "My ambition," said his majesty, "has other objects in view. Like the neighbouring potentates, I also aspire to enjoy the fame of being accounted GREAT; but in pursuit of this object I have taken a different and a shorter road, and have resolved to lay the foundation of my greatness at HOME. For this reason, I never engaged in any of these alliances. Tell your master this; and, be assured, it is the only answer you will ever bear to him from me, for I am not given to change my resolutions."*

Notwithstanding this peaceful policy and exalted prudence, John was by nature a brave and heroic prince; and, while he would never act the part of an aggressor, it became those who injured his subjects to look to themselves. For example; a richly laden vessel from Guinea was taken by some French corsairs. John laid an immediate embargo on all the vessels of that country in his ports: and directed the valiant Vasco de Gama, of whom we shall afterwards have much to relate, to make reprisals on the ocean. Charles, King of France, issued an order for instant restitution: but when the caravella was restored, a paroquet belonging to some of the crew could not be found. John refused to surrender the French ships till the lost bird was conveyed to Lisbon. "I will have it known," exclaimed the indignant king, "that the flag of Portugal can protect even a paroquet."

Manifold as were the excellences of this king, his most distinguishing feature was the uniform zeal with which he kept in view the diffusion of Christianity, such as it then existed. With this his reign began, and with this it terminated. This was the end, to which discovery in his mind was only a means; and the wealth which flowed from that discovery was, however important, yet only a subordinate circumstance. The venerable Portuguese historian of the discovery and conquest of the East Indies, has incidentally

* Clarke, p. 349.

employed his veracious pen in yielding a glorious tribute to this illustrious monarch, whom he proclaimed "a prince of great penetration and high emprize, greatly desirous to enlarge his kingdom, and to propagate the knowledge of the Christian faith to distant regions."

* Castaneda's History, &c. sect. i.

CHAPTER V.

DISCOVERY OF INDIA.

Royal Zeal for Discovery—Discovery unpopular—Emmanuel perseveres—Appointment of De Gama—His Character—Storms—Sublime conduct of De Gama—He arrives at Mozambique—Cannonades the Town—Arrives at Mombassa—Discovers Treachery—Melinda—Kindness of the King—Interview between him and De Gama—Arrival on the Shores of India—Bontaibo—Grand Procession—The Zamorin—Death of the Admiral's Brother—Arrival in Portugal—Missionary Spirit of Emmanuel.

Previous to his death, John had made every effort to induce his successor Emmanuel, who was his cousin, and who had married his sister, to prosecute the work of maritime discovery beyond the point which Diaz had reached. In the mean time, the wonderful discovery of America by Columbus, under the auspices of Spain, had given the last possible impulse to the ambition of John, who felt unspeakably mortified by his own neglect of Columbus, whose services might have been employed to add empire to Portugal, and immortality to its sovereign. The only compensation that he could now make to his country, was, to hasten the complete development of the Indian Ocean. As a last request, therefore, John pressed Emmanuel, by the discovery of India, to add a sphere to the regalia of Portugal. The new sovereign, whose native propensities to projects of discovery were, perhaps, not less powerful than those of his royal cousin, embarked, with his whole soul, in the prosecution of the object.

Emmanuel deemed it expedient, however, to call a council that he might take their sentiments on the subject of promoting the work of discovery. The body of his counsellors were strongly averse to it. The populace clamoured against it without, while the cabinet frowned within. Never was an expedition more unpopular. But the new monarch, then in the twenty-sixth year of his age, was not to be put down by the voice of

timid folly, in an enterprise from which he confidently anticipated so much wealth, power, and glory, and so much extension to the kingdom of Christ. He set immediately about the preparation of ships, and, after much deliberation, most wisely fixed upon Vasco de Gama, a man who, to boundless valour, added consummate naval skill. On receiving this high appointment, his soul was filled with joy, and fired with an ambition to meet the expectations of his sovereign. He told his king that he had long sighed for the honour of such an enterprise.* He appears to have been the prototype of some of England's greatest admirals. He was most intrepid, full of perseverance, patient in difficulties, fertile in expedients, and superior to all opposition; violent in temper, terrible in anger, and sudden in the execution of justice or of vengeance. According to Vincent, he had devoted himself to death, if he did not succeed, from what he strangely called a sense of religion and loyalty.† All things being ready, Christianity was invited to give her solemn sanction to the enterprise. Previous to the embarkation, the religious orders of the church at Belem, where De Gama and his companions had spent the night in prayer, went in procession in their cowls, bareheaded, and carrying wax candles, praying for the success of the expedition, accompanied by almost the whole people of Lisbon,—weeping, and pouring forth loud lamentations over those who now embarked, as persons devoted to certain destruction in attempting a voyage of such uncertainty, length, and danger.

The prudence of Emmanuel had arranged that Diaz, the discoverer of the Cape, should accompany De Gama a considerable way in the voyage, and that Pedro de Alenquer, who had been pilot to Diaz, should, in the same capacity,

* Camoens thus describes the commander at this interesting moment:—

"Let skies on fire,
Let frozen seas, let horrid war conspire,
I dare them all;" I cried, "and but repine,
That *one poor life* is ALL I can resign!"

Lusiad.

† Periplus, p. 209, 221, note 355.

proceed the whole of the voyage with De Gama. The fleet sailed July 28, 1497, and, after sustaining several very heavy tempests, in which life was repeatedly despaired of, on November the 4th they came within sight of an island, which they called St. Helena, because discovered on the day dedicated to that saint; and entering a large bay they found a welcome supply of water and fresh provisions. Leaving St. Helena, they proceeded on their voyage for the Cape of Good Hope. The weather suddenly changed; the winds were piercing cold, and so boisterous, that the voice of the pilot could seldom be heard; the waves rose like mountains; and the ships were now wafted up to the clouds, and then precipitated by circling whirlwinds to the bed of the ocean; while the horrors and peril of the scene were much increased by the dismal and almost continual darkness, which, at that season, broods upon those seas.*

This was a time of great trial to the admiral, and upon none of the manifold emergencies in which the student of history finds him does he ever appear to more advantage, or display more true and awful greatness. During the intervals of the storm, the seamen, broken with fatigue, appalled by danger, and sinking under a weight of despair, surrounded him, imploring that he would not expose himself and his crew to a death so dreadful, exclaiming that the gale could no longer be endured, and protesting that to advance further was to be buried in the waves. But the lion-hearted admiral was immovable. The men, filled with fear and rage, were desperate, and an alarming conspiracy was immediately formed against him; but it was discovered by his brother, and the conspirators, with all the pilots, were straightway put in irons. The admiral, resolute in his purpose to succeed or perish, thus rose with the fearful emergency; and, assisted by his brother, and the few who re-

* This was only a prelude to the disasters of the next fleet that Emmanuel sent forth, in the same region, when a furious and irresistible tempest arose so suddenly, that the crews had not time to furl their sails; and four ships being dashed upon each other, were speedily engulfed with all on board. To add to the calamity, one of these vessels was commanded by Bartholomew Diaz, the immortal discoverer of the Cape of Good Hope.

mained stedfast to their duty, he pressed forward, and himself *stood night and day at the helm.* At length on November the 20th, after twenty days of conflict with the elements, he and his whole squadron doubled the tremendous cape, with trumpets sounding, and other demonstrations of joy.

De Gama continued to sail along the coast for several weeks, holding such intercourse as he could with the natives. Having obtained a proper supply of articles necessary to his ships on February the 24th, he steered on till March the 1st, when they came within sight of an island, which he ascertained from the natives, who came off in boats, to be Mozambique, subject to the King of Quiloa, where merchants from many countries came to traffic with the Moors. He approached this island, in the hope that he might obtain pilots to carry him onward to India. The inhabitants he found to be Moors, who traded, in ships of considerable burden, to Sofala; he also found that they used a species of compass in their navigation, and had sea charts of considerable accuracy. The sheik, or governor, soon came on board, and, at the request of De Gama, readily furnished two pilots, who engaged to perform the whole voyage for thirty crowns and a coat. But when the sheik discovered that the Portuguese were Christians, the love he at first showed was turned into enmity. A variety of insults were then heaped upon them; in return for which De Gama demolished their town with his great guns, and drove the inhabitants to the country.

Leaving Mozambique on the 27th of March, on the 7th of April he reached Mombassa. This was a city of great elegance; the houses were built of stone and lime, well adorned; the inhabitants were Moors, who dressed splendidly, especially the females, who wore gowns of silk, and were bedecked with jewels of gold and precious stones. Here a number of men in the Turkish dress came on board, bearing compliments of congratulation from the king, stating that there were many Christians on the island, and manifesting much friendship. The next day the king sent on board a present of fruit to the Admiral, the bearers of which professed

to be Christians, and advised him to approach the city and to anchor in the harbour, where the king could more easily give him tokens of his desire to oblige him. The miscreant monarch's object was not to oblige, but to destroy them; for he had heard of the transactions at Mozambique, and meditated vengeance. On the morning of the next day the admiral prepared to enter the harbour; but the ship, striking on a shoal, he again cast anchor, when the Moorish pilots instantly jumped overboard, and were received by the natives. This excited De Gama's suspicions, and, putting two of his captive Moors to the torture, he discovered that a conspiracy was formed for the slaughter of him and his people. During the night the watch of the flag-ship perceived the cable shaking; and on looking over saw several men swimming around it, and cutting it with their wood knives, that the vessel might drift upon the rocks and be destroyed. Others had got upon the tackle of another ship; but, on being discovered, they plunged into the sea, and swam to some boats which were ready to receive them. De Gama hastened away from this treachery; and, setting sail the same day, he reached Melinda, which is only eighteen leagues distant from Mombassa. This was also a place of some splendour: the streets were spacious and the houses built of stone, with terraces on the top. The natives were swarthy, strong, and well-proportioned; they wore turbans of silk and gold, and, from the waist downwards, were clothed in silk and cotton stuffs, and some wore short cloaks of calico. Presents passed between De Gama and the king, and a friendly negotiation was opened. Next day the admiral anchored nearer the city, close by the vessels of some Indian Christians, who with all frankness came immediately on board the Portuguese ships.

On the morrow the king, according to previous arrangement, came on board, in a large boat, with many attendants. He was dressed in a gown of crimson damask, lined with green satin; a gold chain hung from his neck; the hilt of his dagger was thick set with diamonds; his baldric burned with precious stones; his velvet buskins also were graced with the same stones enchased in studs of gold; and on his head he

wore a rich silk turban. He was seated in an elegant chair, curiously inlaid with wire, on a silk cushion, with another beside him, on which was placed a hat of crimson satin. Near him stood an ancient and venerable warrior bearing a rich sword, with a silver scabbard. Not less rich and splendid in their proportions were the dresses of his retinue; and a band of musicians performed on sackbuts and flutes. The admiral De Gama, adorned in all the pride of Portugal, went forth in his barge to meet the monarch of Melinda. His armed breast shone with fair embroidery; his vest was made of polished steel; his sleeves beneath were silk of a pale blue, and above, more loosely, hung a scarf of the richest purple, rolled in equal gatherings, with golden buttons, and loops of gold,—the polished radiance of which burned bright in the sun, while the dimmed eye turned away from its lustre; his cassock was of crimson satin, of Gallic make, but of Venetian manufacture; his sword was gold; the warlike trousers which embraced his manly limbs were likewise laced with golden thongs: his officers and attendants were arrayed in a manner worthy of their admiral. The bands of De Gama sounded their trumpets, while the mortars boomed in successive salutes over the deep.

Thus met the King of Melinda and the Admiral of Portugal. After the first salute, his majesty was rowed up to the ships, and was prodigiously astonished and delighted with the roar of the cannon, and the clouds of smoke which darkened the sky. The king showed all possible kindness, promised to supply every want, and to give them a skilful pilot to conduct them to Calicut.

All things being ready, and the king having exacted of De Gama a promise to stop at Melinda on his return, that an ambassador might be sent to Lisbon, and an alliance formed between him and the King of Portugal, the great mariner on Friday, April 26, 1498, left Melinda for Calicut. Instead of tracking the coast as he had hitherto done, under the guidance of the pilot and the compass, he began to cut over the gulf, a distance of 680 geographical leagues, of twenty to a degree, and on Friday, May the 17th,—twenty-two days after leaving Melinda, during which they had seen

no land,—they descried with unutterable joy the coast of India. On Sunday the 20th, the pilot pointed out the high hills which overlook the city of Calicut, and demanded his reward, which the admiral instantly paid, and summoned his people to prayer; giving abundant thanks to the Most High God for their safe arrival upon the coast of the country, which they so earnestly longed to see. A great feast was then prepared for the ships' companies, and in the evening they came to anchor at a distance of two leagues from the city of Calicut. The admiral sent a messenger on shore, who accidentally met with Bantaibo, a Moor, who came from Tunis, and who could speak Spanish. This person returned with the messenger, and waited on the admiral, who embraced him with the affection of a friend. So much were he and his brave crew surprised and pleased to meet a person on the shores of India with whom they could converse, that the tear of joy started in their eyes. De Gama sat down by him, and grasping his hand, inquired if he was a Christian, and by what means he came to Calicut. Bantaibo, who appeared to have been sent by Providence to render great services to the Portuguese, replied, that he was a Christian, and that business had brought him by way of Cairo to India.

The sovereign of Calicut, called the Zamorin, invited De Gama to the royal residence; and next day De Gama, attended by twelve of his officers, set out in his boat furnished with ordnance, with colours flying, and trumpets sounding. They landed, and advanced in procession to the palace, followed by an immense concourse; at their entrance into the city, the press was so great, that they were almost stifled, which obliged the officer who had them in charge to retire with them into one of the houses, where a person of great distinction, sent by the king, came to bring forward the admiral. The procession was attended by at least three thousand men in arms: an attention which so flattered De Gama, that he turned to one of his officers and said, "Little do they think in Portugal what honour is paid to us here."

At the palace gates they were conducted through five large courts, furnished with as many gates, and two officers

stationed at each. On approaching the chamber of audience they were met by the king's chief brahmin, who embraced the admiral, and conducted them all in. So eager were the populace to catch a glimpse of their prince, that in pressing in with the Portuguese some lives were lost. Two of De Gama's men narrowly escaped being squeezed to death. The sight of this sovereign, however, was worth a struggle, though not the risk of losing life.

The hall into which the mariners were ushered was an amphitheatre, regularly seated. A rich carpet covered the floor; and the walls were hung with silk tapestry interwoven with fine gold. The Zamorin lay reclined on a sofa covered with white silk, interlaced with gold, and a rich canopy was extended over his royal head. He had on a short coat of fine calico, superbly adorned with branches and roses of beaten gold, and buttoned with large pearls, while the button-holes were overlaid with gold. He was begirt with a calico sash, extending to his knees; on his head was a mitre adorned with jewels; in his ears, too, were jewels of the same kind; while both his toes and his fingers sparkled with diamond rings. His arms and legs, both naked, were adorned with bracelets of gold. This most splendid prince was of a brown complexion, of a full habit, and rather advanced in years. His whole air and mien were noble and majestic, and befitting the exercise of empire.

The ceremonial of introduction being over, the Portuguese were seated opposite to the prince, and supplied with water to cool their hands. The emperor then ordered a collation of figs and jakas to be introduced: and on their calling for water to drink, a gold cup with a spout was brought in. Previous to drinking, they were apprized that it was deemed vulgar to touch the vessel with the lips; and, that they might comply with custom, they held the spout at some distance, but, not being trained to receive a flowing stream into their mouth in this manner, the result was ludicrous. In one, it excited strong coughing, and another sprinkled his clothes, to the no small merriment of the court and spectators. De Gama was then permitted to introduce his business, when he announced himself as an ambassador sent by

the King of Portugal, to negotiate a treaty of alliance with the sovereign of Calicut, to establish commercial relations, and to convert the natives, his subjects, to Christianity. The Zamorin expressed himself ready to form an alliance and a commercial relation with the King of Portugal; how he received the proposition of converting his subjects, is not distinctly stated by the Portuguese historians. Rivals, however, soon started up, and intrigues were fostered by the Arabs and other merchants from various countries, who wished to retain a monopoly of the lucrative trade, which they had long carried on with Calicut, then the grand emporium of India for all kinds of spices, drugs, calicoes, precious stones, gold, silver, and other rich commodities. Much confusion and some conflicts ensued, which it is not to our purpose to record.

The dexterous and faithful admiral, having made the most of his circumstances for the good of his country, left the shores of India, and, according to promise, called at Melinda on February the 7th, and found its ruler still cordial and kind. On the 20th of March he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and pressed on to Portugal: but the admiral had the misfortune on the passage to lose his brother, Paulo de Gama, who died, and was buried at the island of Tercera. He is reputed to have been a Christian, and to have died as became his profession. After the interment, the admiral held on his way, and arrived at Belem, whence he had sailed in September 1499, after an absence of two years and two months. Of 108 men who had gone out with him, he brought only fifty home alive; the rest having perished chiefly through the ravages of the scurvy. Having first returned thanks to the God of heaven for all his mercies, he sent notice of his arrival to the king, who nobly recompensed him, his officers, and men, for his glorious services.

It only remains to show, that the spread of Christianity was not less a ruling element, a primary object, in the maritime projects of Emmanuel, than it had been with his great predecessor John. The weighty testimony of the Portuguese historian of the discovery of India, sets this important question completely at rest. That testimony is contained in the

opening of the history of the second voyage of the Portuguese to India, in 1500, conducted by Pedro Alvarez Cabral: and thus it runs:—"The certainty of a navigable communication with India, and the vast riches that were to be had in that country being now ascertained, the king resolved to prosecute the discovery on purpose to spread the gospel among the idolaters, and to augment his own revenues, and the riches and prosperity of his subjects. For these purposes, he determined to attempt the settlement of a factory in Calicut, by gentle means, hopeful that they might be persuaded to a friendly intercourse, and might afterwards listen to the word of God."* The arrangements of the second voyage were in perfect keeping with the noble object avowed in these words: for the fleet of Cabral carried out a body of no fewer than seventeen missionaries. But the dispositions of the sovereign and those of his subjects were very different: and, though the spirit of missions had mainly sustained the vast series of experiments, which terminated in opening the passage to India, there was not much accomplished by the Portuguese in after ages in the East, in the shape of evangelical operation, on which the mind of an enlightened Protestant can rest with devout satisfaction.

* Castenada, book i. sect. iii. in Lichefield.

PART THIRD.

MARITIME DISCOVERY IN THE WEST.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE OF COLUMBUS.

Birth and Education—First Voyages—Voyage of Discovery—War and Piracy—Marvellous Escape—Residence in Lisbon—Marriage—Commercial Employ.

Christopher Columbus was born about the year 1447, in the city of Genoa, of humble but reputable parents. There is reason to believe that he was educated at the university of Padua, where, in addition to the ordinary and essential branches of tuition, he was instructed in geometry, astronomy, cosmography, drawing, and in whatever was necessary to form a skilful and accomplished seaman. He possessed a remarkable quickness of perception, and acquired as much knowledge as could well have been attained at the early age of fourteen,—an age which beheld him embarked on that element, in connexion with which he was destined to acquire so much celebrity. The first voyages of Columbus were confined to the Mediterranean, and were altogether of a mercantile character. But his ardent mind aspired to higher and more adventurous employment; and accordingly we find him, when not more than twenty years of age, engaged in a voyage of curiosity, or rather of discovery, it being his principal object to ascertain whether the frigid zone was habitable. In pursuit of this perilous inquiry, we behold the dauntless youth stretching into the northern seas, running along the coast of Iceland—the limit of former navigators—and pushing into the ocean which lies beyond the arctic circle.

Columbus, on his return from the northern seas, was engaged in a warlike expedition fitted out at Genoa, in which, associated with hardy and daring adventurers, he attained to such distinction as to be entrusted with a separate command. Shortly after this, he is said to have entered the service of Columbus Junior—as he was designated—a celebrated corsair of his name and family, who commanded a small squadron, fitted out at his own expense, and carried on a piratical warfare against the Venetians and the Turks, at that time the rivals of the Genoese in the commerce and sovereignty of the Mediterranean. To Columbus this was a school of courage, as well as of skill in maritime employments; for here his valour was tested by many a sanguinary struggle, and he became familiar with hourly danger. One example may be taken: having given chase to some Venetian galleys, returning richly laden from the coast of Flanders, in the ardour of the fiercest combat, Columbus grappled with one of the vessels, when—fast locked to his antagonist, by means of strong iron hooks and chains—his ship took fire. In this fearful situation, all was confusion, consternation, and despair; but Columbus, whose coolness equalled his bravery, leaped into the ocean, and with the aid of an oar or spar accidentally, or rather providentially, within his reach, he swam to the shore, a distance of more than two leagues.

After this escape, Columbus proceeded to Lisbon, and about 1470 he took up his residence in that capital. There he became acquainted with those men of eminence in naval science, and its kindred subjects, whom, as we have already seen, the patronage of Prince Henry had attracted to Portugal. The great navigator had now reached to full manhood: his appearance was engaging; his deportment was grave, courteous, and affable; he was remarkable for eloquence of discourse, and for an ardent and magnanimous temper. He was a man who, wherever he came, could not fail to command attention, to make friends, and to keep them. His residence in Lisbon was, in all respects, a great era in his history. There is reason to believe that, about this time, he first became really in earnest about the things

of eternity; and it is much to be regretted that his original biographer was not more competent to speak to this important matter. There, too, he formed a matrimonial connexion with the family of the famous navigator, Palestrello, already mentioned as one of the two adventurous mariners who discovered and colonized the island of *Porto Santo*, by marrying his daughter, Dona Felipa. Thus he came into possession of the journals and charts of his father-in-law; and, listening from time to time to the narratives of his enterprises, as related by his widow, Columbus, too, was seized with a strong desire to engage in voyages of discovery. In the mean while, however, he was engaged in commercial sailing to the Canaries, Azores, Guinea, and other places discovered by the Portuguese on the coasts of Africa.

These facts show that Columbus, from very early years, manifested the possession of those peculiar attributes, physical, moral, and intellectual, which so pre-eminently qualified him for the successful prosecution of those stupendous undertakings to which Divine Providence ultimately conducted him. His education was greatly superior to that which in those days generally fell to the lot of the naval profession. Few mariners of his time could boast half the amount of literature and mental culture which appertained to Columbus. The humanizing tendency of knowledge, combined with even dim and superstitious piety, was beautifully exemplified throughout the following periods of his bright career. In matters of information, taste, and composition, the mass of even modern mariners of the first class would gain but little by comparison with the discoverer of the New World though a man of the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER II.

SPECULATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS OF COLUMBUS.

Aspirations of Columbus—The great Problem—Views of Columbus strengthened by Tradition—Extent of India—Argument of Columbus—Objects floating from the West—Contemporary Opinions—Missionary Motives—Extraordinary Confidence.

Columbus, weary of the beaten track of navigation, and aspiring to enlarge the boundaries of maritime knowledge, was at length constrained to investigate both the principles of navigation as then practised, and of geography as at that time understood. He was soon convinced that error mingled with both, and that he was competent to effect their improvement. The land of wealth and wonders, to which all eyes were turned, was India, and the great problem to be solved was, the shortest and safest maritime route to it. This question depended upon another: if, as vulgarly believed, the earth was a *plain*, intersected by seas, and surrounded by one all-comprehending ocean of inconceivable dimensions and "pitchy darkness," then it was incontrovertibly certain that, if there was even one passage to India, Africa must be a circumnavigable continent, around and beyond which lay the path to that land of gold and spices. On the contrary, if the earth was a sphere, a terraqueous globe, it was equally certain that by sailing in a direction westward, if nothing but ocean intervened, a vessel must reach the Indies.

The practicability of reaching India by Africa was still uncertain, and, should it be ultimately accomplished, the period appeared very remote, if the future might be measured by the past; for the Portuguese, with all their ardour in the pursuit, had required a space of more than fifty years to advance from Cape Non to the equator. The danger, too, attaching to such a line of passage along the rocky shores of that immense continent, so frequently visited with

gales and storms, must continue to involve great and constant peril, so long as mariners continued to coast it. Under these circumstances, the mighty mind of Columbus revolved the subject, and examined it on all sides by the lights of science.

The globular form of the earth was known to a few enlightened men of that age; and even its magnitude was ascertained with some degree of accuracy. In the system of Columbus this was a settled point, and on this fact he rested all his conclusions. He did not discover that truth, but he applied its principle to navigation. Assuming this fact, it was demonstrable that, by sailing west, he could reach the eastern continent. The convictions resulting from science were strengthened by tradition; and in those days, the authority of the ancients, upon all subjects, had great weight; while on this point, moreover, although mistaken, some of them had been peculiarly happy in their guesses, for the notions and projects of Columbus. Aristotle considered that the Straits of Gibraltar were at no great distance from the East Indies; and that there might be a communication by sea between them. Seneca was still more encouraging; he contended that, with a fair wind, a vessel might sail from Spain to India in a few days. Pliny and Strabo, by venting similar opinions, strengthened the happy delusion.

The subject admitted of being viewed in another light. Granting that no land intervened betwixt Europe and India, the breadth of the ocean which lay between must depend upon the extent of India. Now some of the chief of the ancients, such as Ctesias and Onesicratus, prodigiously exaggerated the dimensions of the Indian territory; Nearchus maintained, that it would require a journey of four months to proceed in a straight line from one extremity of India to the other. The report of Marco Polo, already mentioned, who had travelled towards the east far beyond the limits of any former visitant, seemed to confirm Nearchus. His magnificent descriptions of Cathay, Cipango, and other countries, implied that India was a region of immense extent. On these grounds Columbus argued that, in proportion as

the continent of India stretched out towards the east, it must, in consequence of the spherical figure of the earth, approach nearer to the islands which had lately been discovered to the west of Africa; that the distance between them could not be very considerable; and that the shortest and directest course to the remotest regions of the east was to be found by sailing due west.

There was another source of evidence to which Columbus attached great weight. Various objects had been brought across the ocean by westerly winds, of such a character as must have proceeded from another clime. Martin Vicenti, a Portuguese pilot, having stretched further to the west than was usual at that time, took up a piece of timber, artificially carved, floating in the sea; and, as it was driven towards him by a west wind, he concluded that it must have come from some unknown land situated in that quarter. Pedro Correo, the brother-in-law of Columbus, found, on the west of the isles of Madeira, a piece of timber carved in a similar manner, and brought by the same wind; and he had also seen canes of an enormous size floating on the waves, which resembled those described by Ptolemy as productions peculiar to the East Indies. After a course of strong westerly winds, trees, torn up by the roots, were often driven upon the coasts of the Azores; and at one time the dead bodies of two men, with strange features, resembling neither the inhabitants of Europe nor of Africa, were there cast ashore. All these things combined, led Columbus to a conclusion, wholly irresistible,* in support of his favourite object. Yet with the diffidence which became him, in a case of such magnitude, he sought light from his gifted contemporaries; and all discussion only served to convince him the more, in the soundness of his views. He was particularly indebted to Dr. Paul, of Florence, a man famous in his day for his skill in geometry and cosmography, and for his inquiries into the results, whether certain or only probable, which had followed the discoveries of Prince Henry and his successors. This great scholar contributed much to strengthen

* Robertson's History of America, book ii.

the hands of Columbus: the doctor not only brought fresh facts to support his views, but pointed out the course of sailing on a chart which he sent to the navigator, and strongly urged him to secure the means necessary to his purpose; concluding his exhortations by the remarkable declaration, that "the voyage laid down, is not only possible, but true, certain, honourable, advantageous, and most glorious among Christians."

It is a fact not a little remarkable, that, as in the minds of Prince Henry, John II., and Emmanuel, the spread of Christianity was the chief and ruling element in the mind of Columbus, while meditating his stupendous project. This gave a peculiar tone to his conversation, and threw an air of solemnity over his character. By degrees he came to view himself as destined by Providence to the achievement of this wonderful work. Like another Moses, "he never spoke in doubt or hesitation; but with as much certainty as if his eyes had beheld the promised land. A deep religious sentiment also mingled with his thoughts, and gave them at times a tinge of superstition, but of a sublime and lofty kind. He looked upon himself as standing in the hand of Heaven, chosen from among men for the accomplishment of its high purpose; he read, as he supposed, his contemplated discovery foretold in holy writ, and shadowed forth darkly in the prophecies. The ends of the earth were to be brought together, and all nations, and tongues, and languages united under the banner of the Redeemer."*

* Irving.

CHAPTER III.

DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED BY COLUMBUS.

Means of Discovery—Offer to Genoa—Application to Portugal—Baseness of Jealousy—Secret Voyage—Offer to Venice—Arrival in Spain—Befriended by Friar Perez—Council of Wise Men—The Scheme condemned—Intervention of Perez—Court Favour—Terms rejected—Terms granted.

Columbus had no sooner surmounted one class of difficulties than he was called to face another. It was felt impossible to provide the necessary means without royal, or at least republican, patronage. Of this, however, he had the most sanguine hope, for he justly considered it an object for which nations might contend. Retaining a just affection for his native country, he naturally and nobly made to it the first tender of his service. He laid before the senate of Genoa an outline of his scheme, and offered to sail, under the banners of the republic, in quest of the new regions which he expected to discover. But that body did not enter into his views. His character and abilities were unknown to them, for he had long resided in foreign parts; and, although a maritime people, they had not engaged in distant voyages, and had no ambition to move in the walks of discovery. They looked upon Columbus as a wild schemer, whose head was filled with impracticable projects. The contempt of such men, however, had no effect upon the mind of Columbus, in respect of his views, and he sought for patronage elsewhere.

Columbus next directed his thoughts to the sovereign of Portugal, at that period the great patron of maritime discovery. John II. was not a prince to be startled with novelty or boldness; he gave to Columbus a cordial reception, and referred the consideration of his plan to Roderigo and Joseph, two physicians, and to Diego Ortiz, bishop of Ceuta, whom he generally consulted in such matters. These able men were placed in a position which exposed them to

a temptation, before which they fell, covered with dishonour. They had been hitherto the chief directors of Portuguese navigation, and had recommended the route by Africa and the east—a course the very reverse of that which was proposed by Columbus as shorter, safer, and more certain. Their pride was alarmed; the navigator of Genoa, if correct in theory, had apparently surpassed them. They did not perceive that both plans might have proved practicable, though not equally eligible, wherefore, if the navigator of Genoa was right, it did not therefore follow that they were entirely wrong; or that their plan was not preferable. But they had not the candour to do justice to the merits of the great project. They teased Columbus with captious questions; they bored him with endless objections; they craftily contrived at the same time to obtain from him charts and details of the designed route. In the mean while these unprincipled men devised a method for robbing the noble navigator of his honour, and of such emolument as might have arisen from the expected discovery. These political philosophers delayed giving their judgment, and thought it decent to advise King John secretly to despatch a vessel to attempt the same discovery by following exactly the course which Columbus appeared to have resolved on. John, forgetting the character that should distinguish a sovereign, weakly and wickedly adopted their perfidious counsel. But Providence protected the cause of its chosen, and avenged the righteous; contrary winds beat against the vessel; and as, after long attempts, no sight or sign of land appeared, the pilot's courage failed him, and he returned to Portugal denouncing the project as equally extravagant and hazardous.

This iniquity could not be long concealed; and on its discovery, Columbus, filled with indignation, immediately broke off all intercourse with a nation capable of such treachery. To add to his sorrows, his wife was now dead: this was an event, however, which dissolved his ties to Portugal. He next proceeded, accompanied by his little son, to Venice, to which he made a like offer, but without success. The subject was far too vast to be appreciated by such a

people. He then proceeded by sea to Spain, where he arrived in a condition all but pennyless; and that he might increase the chances of success, he despatched his brother Bartholomew to England, to lay his plans before Henry VII., then considered one of the most sagacious, opulent, and generous princes in Europe. Bartholomew fell into captivity, but at length escaped, reached England, and was well received by the king, who would doubtless have patronized the project, had it not been espoused by Spain. Providence raised up friends to Columbus in the day of his destitution; for he had literally in a manner "to beg his way from court to court to offer to princes the discovery of a world." He met with great hospitality from Friar Juan Perez de Marchena, who first found him at the door of the convent receiving what he had asked of the porter—a little bread and water for his child. This excellent ecclesiastic and his friends, having learned the history of the navigator, cheered and encouraged him; while Martin Alonzo Pinzon having generously supplied him with means, he set out early in 1486 for the Spanish court, at Cordova, leaving his little son with Perez in the convent. The circumstances of the country at that time were unfavourable to him. War engrossed the general attention, and wasted the national means. There was that, however, about Columbus which commended him to those who had the royal ear. He readily found his way to the hearts of good men. His deportment, though courteous, was full of gravity; he was from conscience circumspect in all his words and actions; his morals were irreproachable;* and he was exemplary in his attention to all the duties of devotion. By these means he soon commanded very general respect and esteem.

Through Cardinal Gonzalez, he obtained an interview with the king; but Ferdinand, though a man of great parts, did not resemble John II. of Portugal. He did not relish bold projects. The plan of Columbus was referred to the queen's confessor, Ferdinand de Talavera. He, in his turn,

* On one point a doubt rests. The nature of his connexion with Beatrix Enriquez has never been satisfactorily cleared up. See Irving, vol. i. p. 145.

subjected it to the scrutiny of those considered most competent to deal with such a subject. Fresh mortification was thus prepared for the author of the project. True science, at that time, had made but little progress in Spain. A council of the Wise was appointed to meet the navigator at Salamanca. A body of professors of astronomy, geography, mathematics, and other branches of science, with dignitaries of the church and learned friars, came to hear the simple navigator rehearse his sublime project. Before Columbus was aware, he was involved in a general war. The book of Genesis, the Psalms of David, the Prophets, the Epistles, and the Gospels were quoted against him; and then followed floods of confutation from the Fathers. There was something provokingly apposite for purposes of derision in the passage of Lactantius, who was a great orator, but not a man capable to deal with subjects of physical science. The rhetorician thus happily ridicules the notion that the earth is a sphere.—"Is there any one so foolish," says he, "as to believe that there are antipodes with their feet opposite to ours; people who walk with their heels upward, and their heads hanging down!—that there is a part of the world, in which all things are topsy-turvy; where the trees grow with their branches downward, and where it rains, hails, and snows upward? The idea of the roundness of the earth was the cause of inventing this fable of the antipodes, with their heels in the air; for these philosophers, having once erred, go on in their absurdities, defending one with another."

A multiplicity of most preposterous objections were made, and met by Columbus with the meekness of wisdom. Objections, too, of a more solid and serious description were also urged, and so disposed of, that some of the first men in Spain became speedy converts to his system; but the mass of bigotry and ignorance which filled the nation was arrayed against him.* Repeated conferences took place; and at last, after long delay, Talavera reported to the king and queen that, in the opinion of the assembled scientific body of Spain, the scheme of Columbus was vain and imprac-

* Irving, vol. i. p. 128.

ticable; and that it would not be seemly in so great princes to embark in such an undertaking on grounds so slender.* Columbus received a courtly reply based upon this report, to the effect that, when the war was concluded, the royal pair would take the matter into consideration.

Such was the mortifying answer given to Columbus, after about five years of attendance and anxious expectation! Columbus had doubts of the medium through which it came, and boldly repaired to the court at Seville, that with his own ears he might receive the ungracious answer from the lips of their majesties; that answer he at last received, after which, disappointed and indignant, he departed. He had during this period been subjected to great hardships, supporting himself by drawing maps and charts, and the occasional bounty of sympathizing friends. Wearied out with a series of delays and disappointments, while the prime of life was ebbing away, he resolved to abandon the pursuit of patronage in Spain, and to repair to courts of better promise. At this eventful moment, Friar Juan Perez, his first, best, and stedfast friend, urged him to defer his journey. Meanwhile he wrote to the queen, and received a gracious answer calling him to the court. The moment the honest friar received it, he saddled his mule, and before midnight he was on his way. By truth and eloquence the venerable man won over her majesty, who by his hands transmitted a supply of money to Columbus to bear his travelling expenses, to purchase a mule for the journey, and a suit of clothes, commanding him to hasten to her presence. He complied. The hour of negotiation came on, and the pauper navigator, as he was deemed by Spanish pride, confounded all who heard him state his terms. He stipulated that he and his heirs should be invested with the titles and privileges of admiral and viceroy over the countries he should discover, with one-tenth of the profits. The pride of the court was shocked at this princely demand. More moderate proposals were made to him, but all in vain. He was immovable, and the negotiation was broken off.

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 2.

We have here an instance of real human greatness. Columbus felt and acted as a man, the subject of whose barter was a world! The court thought only of his present poverty and meanness; Columbus, on the contrary, spoke as if already standing on the continents of the West, surrounded by mines of gold, and in the midst of empire. He had revolved his mighty subject upwards of eighteen years, till Spain and her sovereigns had become small objects to the eye of his magnificent imagination. During that long period, much of which had been wasted in fruitless applications to divers courts, his noble heart had been sustained by hope. This had brought him through mingled floods of varied sorrow; and it still upheld him in all his native greatness. He was immovable; the court persevered in its refusal. The brave mariner, disgusted and exasperated, determined to have done with Spain. He saddled his mule and set out for France.*

Some of the great men, who acceded to his theory, perceiving this, and in this, the unutterable calamity of their country, hastened to the queen as the most likely person to be wrought upon; and to her used great plainness of speech. Among these immortal names the first place is due to Luis de St. Angel, who by persuasion, remonstrance, and respectful, patriotic reproach, brought the queen to embrace his views, and at length to utter the following remarkable words: "I undertake the enterprise for my own crown of Castile, and will pledge my jewels to raise the necessary funds." Words in relation to which Washington Irving truly says: "This was the proudest moment in the life of Isabella; it stamped her renown for ever as the patroness of the discovery of the New World."† It deserves notice, too, that one of the most effective arguments used by St. Angel was, that, by patronizing Columbus, she might eminently contribute to diffuse the light and truth of the gospel—a fact which beautifully harmonizes with the statements subsequently given from the journal and will of Columbus. The

* Dr. Robertson says England, but the text is confirmed by Irving.

† Irving, vol. i. p. 163.

queen was much less sensible to the vulgar impulses of sordid avarice or military glory, than to arguments derived from religious considerations.

The queen despatched a messenger with all speed, to recall Columbus. He was overtaken two leagues from Granada, at the bridge of Pinos, when the courier delivered his message, to the effect that his terms were conceded; he at first hesitated; but when apprized of the ardour of the queen and her positive promise, he returned—and that return was an era in Spanish history.

CHAPTER IV.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

Columbus ennobled—Difficulties to be overcome—General conduct of the Pinzons—Voyage begins—Journal—Touching Scene—Omens—Variation of the Compass—Mutiny—Quiet—Hope of Land disappointed—Fresh Mutiny—Signs of Land—Speech of Columbus—Light—Cry of Land—First sight.

Columbus now basked in royal favour; by a subsequent ordinance the dignities demanded were conferred on him and his heirs for ever, with the privilege of prefixing Don to their names, by which they were raised to the rank of nobility. An edict was likewise issued for fitting out the expedition; yet he felt himself surrounded by difficulties. A spirit of terror spread among men. Owners of vessels absolutely refused to furnish them for so desperate a service; and even veteran seamen shuddered at the thought of embarking in so hazardous a voyage. The royal order to furnish ships was peremptory, and obedience to it was promised; but more absolute mandates had to be issued, and edicts warranting magistrates to press vessels, masters, and crews into the service, and to compel them to sail with Columbus. Even this did not suffice; great confusion, disturbance, and popular commotion were the result. At length the brothers, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, Vicente Yanes Pinzon, and Francis Pinzon, friends of Columbus, and themselves men of wealth and eminent navigators, volunteered their own services to take commands; they also supplied at least one of the ships, and prevailed with a number of relatives and friends to come forward to man them. Thus within the space of a month, three vessels were ready for sea; but one of these vessels, the Pinta, with its owner and seamen, had to be pressed, and a number of men were compelled to embark in the other

vessels. Every thing was adverse. Popular feeling was strongly opposed to the project. Some of the volunteer seamen retracted, and sought to be released; others deserted and concealed themselves. But perseverance overcame every difficulty, and by the beginning of August, the vessels were ready for sea. The ships were three in number, and the total of persons was one hundred and twenty. As one great object of his expedition was to extend the knowledge of the Christian Faith, a special religious service preceded the embarkation of Columbus and his partners in enterprise.

On Friday, August 3d, 1492, at early morn, Columbus set sail by a western course for the East Indies. He forthwith commenced a journal, which, while valuable on many accounts, strongly attests the truth of a previous statement relative to the missionary aspect of the expedition, and the evangelical character of the principles which chiefly sustained and impelled him—points which, as will subsequently appear, receive a remarkable corroboration from his prayer on first landing in the New World. In that document, the great navigator thus proceeds in the prologue addressed to the king and queen: "In consequence of the information which I had given to your highnesses of the lands of India, and of a prince who is called the grand khan, which is to say in our language, king of kings; how that many times he and his predecessors had sent to Rome to entreat for teachers of our holy faith, to instruct him in the same, and that the holy Father never had provided him with them, and that so many people were lost, believing in idolatries, and imbibing doctrines of perdition; therefore, your highnesses, as Catholic Christians and princes, lovers and promoters of the holy Christian faith, and enemies of the sect of Mahomet, and of all idolatries and heresies, determined to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the said parts of India, to see the said princes, and the people, and lands, and discover the nature and disposition of them all, and the means to be taken for the conversion of them to our holy faith; and ordered, that I should not go by land to the east, by which it is the custom

to go, but by a voyage to the west, by which course, unto the present time, we do not know for certain that any one hath passed."*

Various events conspired to detain him among the Canary islands upwards of three weeks. At length, on the 6th of September, setting out from Gomera, and taking leave of the frontier isles of the Old World, he proceeded west, and struck into the paths of discovery. Now was the hour of trial. When fairly out in the mighty ocean, and the last trace of land had been lost in the horizon, the hearts of even the hardiest mariners sunk within them. Never were crews before so circumstanced. Parents, wives, children, home and country—all were left, perhaps, to be seen no more for ever! Tears trickled down the cheeks of men who, since the days of boyhood, had seldom wept. Some bewailed their condition aloud, and broke out into bitter lamentations. They seemed on their way into the eternal world, and knew not what unimagined horrors awaited them. The admiral used all methods of soothing and cheering their troubled breasts. He talked of gold, triumph, and glory. He promised land and wealth to his followers, and discoursed of magnificent countries to be discovered, with as much certainty as if he had walked amid their shady groves, and inhaled their aromatic breezes. His hope at length began to animate his people, who became more cheerful and resigned. But to the imaginations of men so circumstanced, omens of evil were always appearing. On September the 11th, they fell in with part of a sloop mast, which excited awful apprehensions of wreck and destruction.

On the 13th, Columbus noted for the first time the variations of the needle, which, instead of pointing to the north star, varied about half a point, or about five degrees to the north-west, a variation which increased as he proceeded. This fact spread consternation among the crews. They seemed to have approached the precincts of another world, where all was new, and strange, and dreadful. They apprehended that the faithful compass was about to be divested

* See Irving, vol. i. pp. 188, 189.

of its mysterious virtues, and to leave them to roam onward without a guide in a measureless wilderness of waters. Columbus soon invented reasons for this, which satisfied the simple seamen. Thus they ploughed onward from day to day, looking out for tokens of land. At one time the flight of birds served as a subject of speculation; at another, floating weeds; and at another, distant clouds. Deception succeeded to deception, and yet hope followed hope. About the 20th of September, however, things began to assume a very alarming aspect. The patience of a portion of the crew was completely exhausted. Fears and evils of every kind were conjured up in thick succession. A mutiny was fast forming against Columbus; and, though limited his numbers, there was more than one Thersites who

> —Clamour'd in the throng,
> Loquacious, loud, and turbulent of tongue:
> Aw'd by no shame, by no respect controll'd,
> In scandal busy, in reproaches bold.*

Some of these miscreants dared to deal in the most atrocious instigations. While the more moderate moved that Columbus should be constrained to stop, they boldly proposed to throw him into the ocean, and on returning to Spain, to report that he had fallen overboard, while observing the heavenly bodies with his instruments. The admiral knew all this; and under such circumstances he uniformly acted the part of true wisdom and greatness. His countenance was clothed with calmness and confidence, while it bespoke sovereign authority. He soothed the fears of one; he fed the avaricious hopes of another; he inflamed the ambition of a third; and a fourth he threatened with vengeance, in the event of any attempt to impede the work of discovery, which had for its object to spread the knowledge of God, and to exalt the Spanish nation. Thus again things for a season were quieted; but that quietness was the breathless hour which precedes the earthquake and the storm.

On the 25th, Martin Alonzo Pinzon shouted, *Land! Land!* The cry was heard in the vessel of Columbus. On

* Pope's Homer, book ii.

looking, it really seemed as if there was land, at a distance of twenty-five or six leagues to the south-west. Columbus dropped on his knees and gave thanks to the most high God; and Pinzon sung the *Gloria in excelsis,* in which his own crew and that of Columbus joyfully united. The light of the morning discovered the delusion, and all again was sadness. Flights of birds, however, soon revived their hopes again that land was not distant, Repeatedly did one and another of the mariners cry, *Land!* but still it proved a deception. On the 8th and 9th of October appearances were full of promise. The ships were surrounded at times by flights of small birds, of various colours, some of them such as sing in the fields; a heron, a pelican, and a duck also appeared; green and fresh herbage floated by the vessels; and Columbus believed that the breezes had become sweet and fragrant, as if they had swept over a landward region. The seamen, however, were wearied of signs which were followed by no substance. The evening of the 9th came, and the sun went down upon a boundless expanse of ocean. The despairing mariners could endure it no longer. For thirty days they had seen nothing but sky and ocean; and all the strongest feelings of their natures rose against the continuance of a course, which to them appeared to be founded in-adventurous folly, and sustained by obstinate madness. Rage and despair were now pictured in most faces. It seemed as if authority were about to expire, and each man to resume the original independence of savage life. The seamen avowed their determination to return, and not to advance another league. The wise and prudent admiral poured oil upon the waters. He spoke softly, and tried the effect of encouragement. This produced no good. He next changed his tone; he now claimed to exercise the rightful authority which belonged to him. He told them that complaint or remonstrance was useless; that the expedition had been sent out by the sovereigns of Spain and Castile, to seek a passage to the Indies, and, whatever might occur, he was resolute in his determination to persevere until, by the blessing of heaven, he had accomplished the object.* Thus the

* Divers writers, among whom is Dr. Robertson, represent Columbus as

case became desperate; and had not the hour of deliverance been at hand, he might have been compelled, like De Gama in doubling the Cape of Good Hope, and Magellan in passing the straits, to have resorted to violent measures, and to have put some of the more refractory in irons. But such an act might have been attended with doubtful success, for the mutiny was more general, and the case far more alarming than was that of those admirals.

The following day put an end to peril and contest. The symptoms of approaching land were unequivocal. The sounding line reached the bottom; a branch of thorn, with berries on it, recently severed from the tree, floated by them; they picked up a cane newly cut, a small board, and a carved staff; the flocks of birds increased; the clouds around the setting sun assumed a new appearance; the air was milder, and the winds at night became variable. After the vesper hymn, Columbus delivered an impressive address to the crew, in which he expatiated on God's goodness in having brought them safe so far: he reminded them of the orders he had given on their leaving the Canaries, that, after sailing westward seven hundred leagues, they should not proceed after midnight; and present appearances authorized that caution. He thought it probable that they would make land that very night; and therefore a vigilant outlook should be kept from the forecastle. He also promised to the man who should make the first discovery, a doublet of velvet, in addition to the pension to be bestowed by the sovereigns.

This was a season much to be remembered. The utmost animation prevailed in the ships; not an eye was closed that night. The breeze being strong all day, they had made great progress; at night they were pressing on with vast

capitulating with his crew, promising, if land was not discovered within three days, to abandon the voyage. Washington Irving has shown, that there is no authority for the statement—that the histories of Columbus' son Fernando, and Bishop Las Casas, both of whom had the admiral's papers before them, make no reference to it; that no such fact appears in the extracts from the journal recently brought to light; that the friends of Columbus, Peter Martyr, and the curate of Los Palacios, never refer to anything of the sort, and that it rests upon the frail authority of Oviedo, who was misled upon this and many points by the pilot Matheos, the enemy of Columbus.—See Irving, vol. i. p. 229.

rapidity, and the Pinta, as usual, from her superior sailing, led the way. As darkness drew on, Columbus ascended the high poop of his vessel, and there took up his post of observation: maintaining an intense and unremitting watch, sweeping with his eye along the vast and dim horizon, with eager anxiety to catch the first indications of land. About ten o'clock he thought he saw a light at a distance. He instantly called Gutierrez, a gentleman of the king's bedchamber, who also saw it; he next called Sanchez, comptroller of the fleet, when they all three perceived it in motion, in sudden and passing gleams; gleams, however, so transient and uncertain, that few attached any importance to them except Columbus, who took them as certain signs of land, and that the land was inhabited. They held on their rapid course during four more hours, when, at two in the morning, the Pinta fired a gun as the signal of land, and the flash of the cannon was immediately succeeded by the shouts of her mariners crying, *Land! land!* It was at a distance of about two leagues. The ships at once lay to, and waited impatiently for the dawn. The welcome beams of morn at last arrived:—and what beams were those! what a morn was that!

CHAPTER V.

EVENTS SUCCEEDING THE DISCOVERY.

Devotion—Confession—Glorious Sight—Landing—Prayer of Columbus—Discoveries—Wreck of the Admiral's Ship—Treachery of Pinzon—Return of Columbus—Arrival and Reception—Papal Division of the Earth—Missionaries—Humane Instructions of Isabella—Second Voyage—Fresh Discovery—Third Voyage—Continent of South America discovered—Fresh Charges against Columbus—Sent Home in Irons—Magnanimous Speech of Columbus—Fourth Voyage—Deep Sagacity of Columbus—Terrible Storm predicted—Havoc of the Storm—Righteous Retribution—Discovery of Darien.

Early on Friday, October 12, 1492, Columbus first distinctly beheld the New World. The rising sun kindled up a landscape full of beauty. The admiral, the officers, and the crew, looked, and wondered, and adored the God of heaven for his favour to them. The people of the Pinta instantly began the *Te Deum*, as a hymn of thanksgiving, and were joined by those of the other ships with tears of joy and transports of congratulation. Gratitude to the Most High was immediately followed by justice to Columbus. The refractory seamen threw themselves at his feet with feelings of self-condemnation and reverential awe; they confessed their error; they implored pardon for their insolence, as the fruit of their ignorant incredulity. They now passed on to the other extreme; they viewed the man whom they had so lately reviled and threatened in their mutinous, and all but murderous, rage, as the first of mortals, as endowed with a wisdom more than human; as inspired of heaven to conceive, and appointed of heaven to accomplish, a design which so far transcended all that past ages had either performed or imagined. Columbus, as may be supposed, was easily propitiated. Such things as he had endured were a cheap price at which to purchase the honour and the glory which were thus secured to him and his

country. From that hour his maritime immortality was fixed. The new world could have but one discoverer.

The ships anchored; the boats were manned and armed. Columbus entered his boat richly attired in scarlet, and bearing the royal standard, while Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and Vincent Janez, his brother, put off in company in their boats, each bearing the banner of the enterprise emblazoned with a green cross. To the eyes of men so lately confined to the sight of only sky and ocean, it was refreshing to gaze on the vast forests which stretched out before them. They beheld several leagues covered with trees like one continued orchard. Fruits of tempting hue, but of unknown kind, loaded the trees which overhung the shores. The moment Columbus landed, he fell on his knees, kissed the earth, and returned thanks to God with tears of joy. His sublime and holy example was followed by the rest, who fully shared his feelings.*

The Latin prayer of Columbus on this occasion is so illustrative of the character of the man, and of the object of the expedition, and so confirmatory of previous statements in this volume, that it must here be recorded. It runs thus:—"O God, eternal and omnipotent, by thy holy word thou hast created the heaven, and the earth, and the ocean; let thy name be adored and glorified, and thy majesty exalted, which has vouchsafed that through thine unworthy servant thy Son's sacred name may be known and proclaimed in this other division of the globe."† Here the one great idea filling the mind of Columbus was obviously the glory of Christ, and the extension of his kingdom.

Columbus called this island San Salvador; it is one of the Bahama isles. Proceeding south he saw several more islands. On the morning of October the 28th, he arrived in sight of the island of Cuba. Here he was enchanted by the beauty

* Irving, vol. i. p. 239.

† We have translated the original from Irving, vol. i. p. 239. According to whom this prayer of Columbus, by order of the Castilian sovereigns, was afterwards used by Balboa, Cortes, and Pizarro, in their discoveries,—a fact which further illustrates the evangelical character and missionary aspect of the work of discovery as then carried on.

of the country. Its immense forests of wide spreading trees offered their friendly shade; some laden with fruits; others clothed with flowers; and others, by exhibiting both fruit and flower in mingled abundance, bespeaking an endless round of fertility. The discovery of Hispaniola next followed, on December 6th; and on the 24th, the ship of Columbus struck on a rock, and was dashed to pieces, but no lives were lost. This event placed the admiral in great distress; for Martin Alonzo Pinzon had treacherously abandoned him, that, under the guidance of an Indian, he might go to a gold region which the natives offered to point out, there enrich himself, and return first to Europe, to announce the discovery of the New World. To avert the latter object and to procure a reinforcement, Columbus, with the other vessel, the Nigna, determined, without a moment's loss of time, to proceed to Spain, leaving behind a portion of his people till his return. On March 15th, 1493, accordingly, he arrived in the port of Palos, after an absence of seven months and eleven days.

This was a proud day to Columbus. Amid all the excitement and the glory of that period, however, he never for a moment forgot the things of eternity, according to the measure of his knowledge. The spiritual aspect of the discovery was always uppermost in his mind, as will appear from the following passage in a letter to the treasurer:— "Let processions be made, festivals held, temples be filled with branches and flowers, for Christ rejoices on earth as in heaven, seeing the future redemption of souls. Let us rejoice, also, for the temporal benefit likely to result, not merely to Spain, but to all Christendom."* A time was fixed by the court for Columbus to rehearse the wonders of his voyage. He discoursed of the climate, the soil, the productions, the precious metals; and then he set forth the wide field which was opened up for missionary operations among the teeming myriads that were found in the New World. This last consideration most powerfully affected the mind of the queen. When Columbus had finished, the

* See Prescott, vol. ii. p. 247.

king and queen, together with all present, fell prostrate on their knees in grateful thanksgivings to the God who made the sea and the dry land, for his signal favours vouchsafed in relation to this great discovery. Columbus was accompanied by a number of Indians, who were kindly treated, instructed in the principles of Christianity, after a time baptized, and subsequently sent to Seville, whence, after a course of tuition, they were to be returned to join the Spanish missionaries, and aid in the diffusion of the faith among their own countrymen.

In the mean time, while preparations were making for the second voyage, the sovereigns of Spain applied to the pope for a grant of the territories which had been discovered. The pope, as the vicar and representative of Christ, as we have previously shown, claimed a right of dominion over the globe with all its earth and oceans. The infamous Alexander VI., accordingly, to subserve his ambitious purposes, with a cheap liberality, by a bull, dated May 2, 1493, granted in full right to Ferdinand and Isabella all the countries inhabited by infidels which they had discovered or might discover, under the single condition of their planting and propagating the Catholic faith. The generous pontiff conferred on the crown of Castile vast regions, to the possession of which he himself was so far from having any title, that he knew nothing of their situation, and was ignorant even of their existence; yet, according to the vain boasting of the wicked impostor, this was done "out of his pure liberality, infallible knowledge, and plenitude of apostolic power." As it was necessary to prevent this grant from interfering with that formerly made to the crown of Portugal, on the following day, the pope, by issuing a bull, decreed that a line supposed to be drawn from pole to pole, a hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores,* should constitute the boundary between them. All to the east of this line he bestowed upon the Portuguese, and all to the west upon the Spaniards. This absurdity, however, was attended with results of no ordinary character. To it we owe the first voyage of circum-

* The line was moved in June 1494, by treaty, to 370 leagues west of the Cape de Verd islands.—See Irving, vol. i. p. 472.

navigation—the voyage of Magellan to the South Seas—and the first discovery of several of the groups of islands in the Great Pacific. His holiness did not trouble himself about the spherical form of the earth; and the fact, that, by prosecuting the career of discovery, the parties might meet, and again have to litigate the question of territorial right at the antipodes, was a point beneath the notice of the Pontiff swallowed up by pursuits appropriate to his carnal character.

Zeal for propagating the Christian faith being the great argument used by the Spanish monarch in soliciting the papal bull, and the sole reason assigned by Alexander VI. in issuing it, twelve ecclesiastics, men of zeal and ability, were selected and appointed to accompany Columbus as missionaries to the New World. Among these was Bernardo Buyl or Boyl, a Benedictine* monk, a man of talent and reputation for sanctity, who was appointed by the pope as his vicar apostolical for the New World, and constituted as superior over his ecclesiastical companions. This body of missionaries was well supplied with all that was necessary to its object. The queen gave them, from her own chapel the ornaments and vestments to be used in all solemn ceremonies. Her majesty had, from the first, taken a very deep and compassionate interest in the welfare of the natives. She looked upon them as committed by heaven to her especial protection; and her whole soul was filled with concern for their destitute and ignorant condition. She gave solemn commandment to Columbus that the utmost attention should be paid to their instruction in the religion of Jesus Christ; that they should be treated with all possible kindness; and she enjoined him to inflict signal punishment on every Spaniard that should be found guilty of injustice or outrage towards them.†

All things being ready, on September 25th, 1493, Columbus set sail from the bay of Cadiz, with a fleet of seventeen ships, having on board fifteen hundred persons, among whom were many noble families. He arrived at Hispaniola on the

* Robertson states that he was a Catalonian.

† Irving, vol. i. p. 448.

22nd of November. After arranging a multitude of affairs, he proceeded in the work of discovery; and in a voyage of five months he encountered much hardship, without any important result. Meanwhile complaints were made by worthless persons against him, in consequence of which he returned to Spain, where he was triumphantly acquitted, and afterwards set out upon his third voyage, during which he discovered first Trinidad, and then the continent of South America.

Sleepless envy continued to persecute this great and good man; and a weak and worthless court believed, or affected to believe, the charges brought against him, that it might be furnished with a pretext for robbing him of the powers and privileges conferred upon him. A poor, incompetent, and wicked creature was sent out to Hispaniola to supersede him, and to inquire into his conduct. This wretch was equal only to the harsh functions of a turnkey. What he could, however, he did; he heard all the complaints that malice dared to bring, and all that he heard he believed, and then he loaded Columbus and his brothers with chains, and transported them prisoners to Spain! The captain of the vessel appointed to convey them, shocked at the cruel indignity offered to the first mariner in the world, when out at sea wished to remove the irons of Columbus; an act of respectful humanity which called forth from the wounded heart of the exalted genius the following magnanimous language:—"Since the king has commanded that I should obey his governor, he shall find me as obedient to this as I have been to all his other orders. Nothing but his commands shall release me. If twelve years' hardship and fatigue,—if continual dangers and frequent famine,—if the ocean, first opened, and five times passed and repassed, to add a New World abounding with wealth to the Spanish monarchy,—and if an infirm premature old age, brought on by those services, deserve these chains as a reward,—it is very fit I should wear them to Spain, and keep them by me as memorials to the end of my life."* So deeply stung was this un-

* Burke's European Settlements, vol. i. p. 45. Robertson's view of this infamous transaction is very defective.

equalled benefactor of Spain with the ungrateful barbarity of its king, that ever after he carried these irons with him wherever he went; wherever he resided they hung in his chamber; and he ordered them to be buried with him in his grave, a procedure by which he inflicted an unexampled and intolerable chastisement on his royal injurer,—had that injurer possessed either a mind to understand, or a heart to feel it.

On his arrival in Spain, the court, perceiving with alarm the feelings of the nation, with the cowardice of baseness, falsely disavowed, and highly censured, the conduct of the governor. Restitution and reward, and the recal of Bobadilla, were promised, but with the exception of the last point, to save appearances, no performance ever succeeded. Columbus endeavoured to bear what he could not bury, and, in May 1502, he embarked the seventh time to cross the Atlantic. His design on the occasion of this fourth voyage was to stand directly for the coast of South America, and to keep along the northern shore till he should come to the place where he had heard an obscure account of some narrow strait or isthmus—whether a strait or an isthmus was uncertain from the accounts he had—and by this, if a strait, he hoped to pass into the great South Sea, for that such a sea existed he had now no doubt. Finding he had discovered a continent, which was neither that of India, nor of China, he saw clearly that the maps could give him no light, and he, therefore, once more threw himself upon his own resources. He reviewed the bearings of all the countries which his former experience, or his late discoveries, had opened to him; he considered the general figure of the earth; he reasoned upon the balance and distribution of land and water; and, on a comparison of all these, he concluded, that, beyond the continent he had discovered, there must be another ocean, probably as great or greater than the Atlantic; and he further inferred, that if such were the case, it was probable that these oceans had some communication. He judged it to be near those places since called Veragua, and Nombre de Dios. Such and so profound and accurate were the further views of Columbus; but, deeming his ships unfit for the

voyage, he purposed putting into San Domingo to refit—a purpose which led to some remarkable developments of human nature and Divine Providence.

Columbus had been a careful observer of the air, the seasons, meteors, rains, and winds; he had studied how each of these seemed to affect the others, and he was deeply skilled in drawing prognostics from remarkable phenomena in all. At this time he judged, from appearances which had never deceived him, that a dreadful hurricane was at hand. Before he entered the harbour he notified his arrival to Ovando, the new governor, who had just been sent out to supersede Bobadilla, with the nature of his design and the condition of his vessels; he likewise requested permission to shelter his little squadron in the harbour from the approaching hurricane, and recommended that the fleet of eighteen ships richly laden with gold, and about to sail with a multitude of passengers on board, might be delayed some days in consideration of the advancing storm. The governor cruelly refused him permission to enter the harbour, to save his life, even in that island, which he himself had discovered and subdued; and also despised his precaution respecting the coming hurricane. Grieved and wounded by the wickedness and ingratitude of man, he retired with his little squadron; and, being deeply impressed with a conviction that the tempest would blow from the land, he drew up as closely as possible to the shore, in a bay of the island, where he rode out the destructive blast in perfect safety.

The Spanish fleet immediately sailed; and the next day the angry heavens awoke, as if to avenge the cause of the righteous and deeply wronged Columbus. The fleet stood confidently out to sea, but it had scarcely reached the eastern point of Hispaniola when the tempest burst over it with inconceivable fury. Of eighteen ships, only two, or at most three, survived to tell the dismal tale of that tremendous night. The rage of the elements, however, was tempered with a righteous and retributive discrimination. The ship which carried the late governor Bobadilla, the vile minion who had superseded Columbus in the government, and, to all his other flagrant wrongs, had added the barbarous indig-

nity of sending him home in chains, was swallowed up. On board of this ship was an immense sum of gold which Bobadilla had wrung from the miseries of the Indians, and with which he had hoped to atone for his manifold enormities in the sight of Ferdinand and Isabella, who had now indignantly recalled him for exceeding his instructions, which were in themselves sufficiently iniquitous. In this same vessel was Roldan, and a number of wicked men, who had been recalled, all the most inveterate enemies of Columbus. They all perished in a moment, and perished together at the rebuke of the Lord! Of the two, or at most three vessels, that survived, only one was able to continue her voyage to Spain. This vessel at the outset had been the most frail and the least seaworthy of the fleet, but she had on board four thousand pieces of gold, the well-gotten property of Columbus.

The general effect of this awful dispensation upon the minds of mankind may be easily conceived. Columbus learned the history of the fleet, and the fate of his foes, with deep emotions. In common with all wise observers, he saw the hand of that God who is everywhere present, to show himself strong in behalf of those whose hearts are perfect. "Historians, struck with the exact discrimination of characters, as well as the just distribution of rewards and punishments, conspicuous in those events, universally attribute them to an immediate interposition of Divine Providence, in order to avenge the wrongs of an injured man, and to punish the oppressors of an innocent people."*

The storm being at an end, Columbus proceeded on his voyage, in which he discovered all the coast of Terra Firma to the isthmus of Darien,—the isthmus, for there was no strait, of which he had heard, that connected the Atlantic with the South Sea—a passage to which he was now intent upon finding, as he was confident of its existence. Nothing was wanting to complete the felicity of this illustrious man, relative to the discovery of this fact, but a brief journey across the isthmus of Darien at which he had arrived, where

* Robertson.

he would have seen expanded in all its beauty and immensity the southern Pacific Ocean. But he knew not that it was an isthmus; and he saw enough, and he did more than enough, to cover his name with glory to the latest posterity. He is one of the grandest subjects of European history; of Spain he is the principal ornament. Let his name and his deeds, his discoveries and their consequences, be removed from the chronicles of that kingdom, and what will remain?

CHAPTER VI.

CHARACTER OF COLUMBUS.

Strength and Operations of his Piety—Luther—Bacon and Newton—Vastness and Versatility of his Genius—Courage and Humanity—Justice and Philanthropy—Patriotism and Loyalty—Voice of Posterity.

We must now take a reluctant leave of the illustrious navigator, for whom at this time the grave was nearly ready; but we cannot part without one word of tribute to his worth and greatness. His character is one of difficult estimation. It comprises so many elements—each of them so great—that it is not easy to determine their competing claims, their individual and collective excellences. Every element of his nature was imperial; not a single component part of a truly great man was wanting. His genius was universal. Whatever he is doing at the moment, he seems to do best; whatever part he may be performing, it is effected with such propriety, that he and it seem mutually created for each other. The substratum of his wondrous character was doubtless his piety, which existed in such power as fully to sustain the mighty pile of splendid attributes of which that character was composed. That piety meets us at every step in his letters, journals, speeches, petitions, writings on prophecy, and in his last will and testament. In this solemn instrument it breathes forth in sublime devotion and expanded charity to the souls of the American natives. His will provides that in Hispaniola there should be "four good professors of theology, to the end and aim of their studying and labouring to convert to our holy faith the inhabitants of the Indies; and that in proportion as, by God's will, the revenue of the states shall increase, in the same degree shall the number of teachers and devout persons increase, who are to strive to make Christians of the natives—in attaining which no expense should be thought too great."*

* Irving, vol. iv. p. 434.

It is true the piety of Columbus was Popish piety, and largely tinctured with superstition; but this was an accident of his birth in such an age and country. It, notwithstanding, comprised all the elements of eternal truth, all the essentials of salvation. There was nothing debasing or enfeebling in his superstition. It was in the highest degree invigorating and ennobling. It surrounded him and all his doings with an unearthly, an awful solemnity; it clothed him and them with sublimity and majesty. Of this his letter to Ferdinand and Isabella is a striking and splendid example. It is doubtful whether, in this respect, any man of his own or of any age, was by nature equally capable of having been made by grace the rival of Martin Luther. Luther, indeed, in our view, had, in the mould and essence of his moral and intellectual being, less of inherent greatness than Columbus. His dignity, notwithstanding the nobleness of his nature, was often debased, or at least endangered, by impetuosity and violence, coarseness and levity—evils or defects from which Columbus was entirely free.

It is questionable whether Bacon himself possessed a larger measure of the penetrating spirit of the true philosopher than Columbus, while his constancy and patience were not inferior even to those of Newton. He showed, on many occasions, that he possessed every attribute essential to functions of the highest rule. In all that appertained to magistracy he acted like a man who had been born in a court, educated among princes, and trained to the exercise of sovereignty. He never seems, in anything, to have laboured under a weight to which his strength was not equal; on the contrary, he always appears superior to his task. This remark applies to every sphere of action in which he moved. He handles the instruments of his operation as if they were playthings. In all his intercourse and negotiations with the Spanish court and monarchs, from the first approach to the close of his life, his spirit and deportment were most princely. Royalty looked a tiny object in his presence. In the fleet, in all the varied positions which he occupied in the New World, it seemed as if he had been born to rule mankind with truth and judgment. At the

head of empire, he had doubtless been more than a second Alfred. Columbus was in all that appertained to justice, humanity, religion, a marvellous contrast to those that followed him in the path of American discovery and conquest. He, by his enlightened philanthropy, rose as much above ordinary humanity as the chief of his monster-successors sunk beneath it. That surprising art, possessed by so few, of making every accident an instrument in his designs; his nice adjustment of his behaviour to circumstances, temporizing, or acting with vigour as the occasion required, and never allowing the occasion itself to pass by him; the happy talent of concealing and governing his own passions, and managing those of others: all these illustrate and demonstrate his wondrous fitness for either negotiation or government, for treating with savages or ruling among civilized men.*

If martial bravery be a virtue, Columbus had only to be placed in circumstances to call it forth, and to authorize its exercise, to have merited the praise of the most exalted heroism. But the devastation of the earth and its occupants was none of his pastimes; destruction and misery were not in his ways; neither were his feet swift to shed blood. The whole bias of his soul, the great object of his existence, was not to destroy life, but to civilize and to save it. He was a man whose patriotism consisted with philanthropy—it fully harmonized with the angelic song, "Peace on earth and good-will to men." The just policy of his dealing with the Indians, his studied avoidance of every step which could offend them, his tender behaviour to them after their subjugation, and his attentive consultation of their earthly welfare, justly merited for him the glorious title of their "Father;" while his zeal for their eternal good, and their consequent instruction in the truths of religion, exalt him to the elevated rank of those few men whom we ought to consider as examples to mankind, and principal ornaments to human nature.

On the character of Columbus, as a subject, it is difficult to speak with temper. Never did a subject establish such claims on a sovereign, and never was merit so ill requited

* See European Settlements, vol. i. p. 62.

He was a subject of whom his king and country were wholly unworthy. His maritime genius was equalled only by his other manifold virtues; and yet his afflictions, in number, variety, and intensity, found a parallel only in his virtues and excellences, each of which shines with such lustre as alone to entitle its subject to distinction. Disappointment and vexation, injustice and suffering, from the great vulgar and the small, were his lot through life. Jealousy reigned among his superiors—envy among his equals—and revolt from his righteous government among his dependents. The scum of the earth in every rank was leagued against him; but a righteous posterity has done him justice. The life of Columbus reads many a lesson to the loftier spirits of the human race, and to the true benefactors of their species, in respect of their probable reception during the days of their earthly sojourn. It sadly proves that—

He who ascends to mountain tops shall find
The loftiest peaks most wrapt in clouds and snow;
He who *surpasses* or *subdues* mankind,
Must look down on the hate of those below.
Though high *above* the sun of glory glow,
And far *beneath* the earth and ocean spread,
Round him are icy rocks, and loudly blow
Contending tempests on his naked head,
And thus reward the toils which to those summits led.

PART FOURTH.

MARITIME DISCOVERY IN THE SOUTH.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY OF THE SOUTH SEA.

Emigration—Character of Balboa—Isthmus of Darien—Contest about Gold—Magnificent Speech—Great Journey—Sight of the South Sea—Possession taken of the Pacific—Balboa in danger—Intelligence of Peru—Panama built—Suspension of Balboa—Character of his Successor—His Execution.

After the discoveries of Columbus had enlarged the sphere of human agency, such a spirit of industry and of adventure burst forth, that not only persons, whose indigence might naturally prompt attempts to improve their fortunes, but people of opulence and of the first rank, went from Europe to settle in America. The golden mountains of the New World formed an all-powerful magnet, which attracted enterprising men of every class. Among such, a foremost place was occupied by Vasco Nunez de Balboa, a man of family, but of ruined fortunes and profligate habits; a man of a graceful person, of shining parts, of a liberal education, and of a hardy constitution. He was also noted for that rough courage and popular bravery so essential to those who engage in desperate projects, where the source of authority is less the place, than the person, of the leader. This ambitious adventurer surrounded and subdued Cuba; and, not finding there the treasure he expected, he afterwards abandoned it. He sought new ground, and, in this pursuit, followed the track of Columbus to Darien, where, by address and skill, he soon found his way to the government of the colony established at Santa Maria.

The isthmus of Darien is a neck of land which unites North and South America. It sweeps, in the form of a

crescent, about the great bay of Panama on the south, and is edged by the gulf of Mexico on the north. It is about three hundred miles in length, and, for the most part, about sixty in breadth; but between Panama and Porto Bello, where it is narrowest, it is only thirty-seven miles. This contracted span is sometimes called the isthmus of Panama. The country, on this part of the neck, is composed of sickly valleys and stupendous hills, which seem to have been placed as everlasting barriers between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, both of which can be distinctly seen at the same time from the summit of the principal mountain. The fact of the ocean beyond the isthmus was discovered to Balboa in the following manner. While holding the government of Santa Maria, he carried on a system of plunder among the natives; and, on one of these occasions, while distributing among his followers their share of the spoil, a fierce contention arose respecting the claims of parties. A friendly cacique or chief, who was present, and witnessed what appeared to him a very irrational quarrel, smote the scales, scattered the gold, and thus addressed them:—"Why do you contend for such a trifle? If this gold is so very precious in your eyes, that for it you forsake your homes, invade the peaceful land of strangers, and expose yourselves to such sufferings and perils, I will tell you of a region where you may gratify your wishes to the utmost. Behold these lofty mountains! Beyond these lies a mighty sea, which may be discerned from their summit. It is navigated by people who have vessels not much less than yours, and furnished like them with sails and oars. All the streams which flow down the southern side of those mountains into that sea, abound in gold; and the kings who reign upon its borders eat and drink out of golden vessels. Gold is as plentiful and common among these people of the south, as iron is among you Spaniards." Balboa, astounded at both parts of this remarkable communication, immediately resolved to turn them to the account of his interests and of his renown. His whole soul was fired at the thought of so much gold, and so much glory, almost within his eager grasp. His fortune seemed already made, and his fame was as sure as his for-

tune; for he might now be the first to descry that ocean, which had so long and so intensely occupied the thoughts of Columbus, who, although confident of its existence, died without the sight.

Balboa, having made the necessary arrangements for this great enterprise, on September 1, 1513, set out on the journey across the mountains, attended by Indian guides, bearers of burdens, and about two hundred soldiers. His path was beset with hostile tribes, who repeatedly obstructed his way; and at one pass, a fierce and powerful Cacique, with his people, resolutely determined to prevent his further progress. Balboa, whose purpose had become his destiny, and whom nothing could arrest but death, defied opposition. He engaged the Cacique with all the fury which his varied and peculiar circumstances could inspire, and anon the Cacique, with six hundred of his men, lay dead on the mountain side! Thus baptized with the blood of the innocent, the invader advanced till he approached the base of the last ridge, and there he reposed for the night. On the 26th of the month, at the first dawn, he resumed his march, and, by ten o'clock in the forenoon, he reached the brow of the highest hill, when he commanded his people to halt, while he alone, with beating heart and hasty steps, ascended the summit. What a moment! What a sight! Forests deep, dark, and immense—fields of living green—rivers meandering to the mighty ocean, and that ocean itself stretching forth in all its immeasurable expanse and appalling grandeur. Such a scene was too much for even a ferocious captain. He fell on his knees, and amid floods of joyful tears, extending his arms to the ocean, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, he offered a prayer of thanksgiving to the Most High, that on him, of all Europeans, had been conferred the signal honour of first beholding the Great Pacific. He then beckoned the approach of his attendants, who advanced; and, on beholding the wondrous sight, a priest of the company struck up the *Te Deum*, in which the whole united on their bended knees. After this mockery of devotion, the brave robber cut down a tree, constructed a cross, and erected it on the spot where he first beheld the glorious vista; and then hastened down the

mountain side to the shore of the South Sea. On reaching the margin of the ocean, he marched, with sword and buckler, into the flowing tide, and, with a loud voice, took possession of it, and of all the shores laved by its waters, in the name of the Spanish king. This done, he then cut a cross on a tree that grew within the limits of the tide, while his Catholic followers busied themselves with similar operations in the forest.

Balboa, having thus taken possession of the newly discovered territory, with eighty of his men, and a Cacique, his friend, put to sea in nine canoes, and were overtaken by a storm, in which they were exposed to imminent peril. With much difficulty they got into an island, where some of their canoes were dashed to pieces, and all their provisions lost. Next day they escaped back to land, where Balboa commenced his favourite work of plunder. He compelled contributions of gold and provisions from the natives, who innocently informed him of the wealth of Peru, and thus added fresh fuel to the fires of Spanish cupidity. The bold adventurer, thus laden with treasure, and covered with the glory of this great discovery, returned over the mountains of Darien, and sent immediate despatches to the Spanish king, apprising his majesty of this fresh addition to his dominions.* Then, without loss of time, he took steps for building a town, and establishing a port, on the shore of the southern ocean. He cut down timber at Ada, on the north sea, and thoroughly prepared for putting together the materials of two brigantines, with all the necessary iron-work and rigging. When the whole was ready for junction, he had the entire mass carried over the mountains by Spaniards, blacks, and Indians.† He thus settled a colony upon the coast of the South Sea, and built the city of Panama.

Such were the works, and, according to the spirit of the age, the claims of Balboa; but, like all the first adventurers in the New World, he did not survive to reap the fruit of his labours. Balboa, in harmony with the iniquitous policy of Spain towards Columbus, was soon superseded by another

* Herrera, dec. 1. lib. x.

† Ib. dec. 2. lib. ii.

governor—a man who had just discernment enough of his merit to raise his own jealousy and envy, and skill enough to use the discoveries of this great man to increase his own private fortune. This worthless minion was, however, a politician and a courtier; and having repeatedly and basely injured Balboa, he was too wise to stop there, and, therefore, with consummate prudence, under a mockery of the forms of justice, he cut off his head, and confiscated his estate. This legal murder was perpetrated in the year 1517. Thus terminated the career of the great discoverer of the South Sea.*

* European Settlements, vol. i. p. 69. See also Hodson's translation of the Memoir of Quintana.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST VOYAGE TO THE SOUTH SEAS.

Magellan's Outset—Papal Gift—Rejection of Magellan's Services—Patronage of Spain—Mutiny—A Captain stabbed—The Straits—A Council—Magellan's Speech—Entry into the Pacific—Scurvy—Great Distress—Ladrones—Philippines—Island King—Popish Mass—Modes of Conversion—Zebu visited—More Conversion—Village Burnt—Tribute exacted—Assault upon Matan—Death of Magellan—His Character—Borneo—Arrival at Tidore—Return to Spain—Results of the Voyage—Further Discoveries.

Columbus was worthily succeeded by Magellan in furthering the work of discovery, under the auspices of Spain. Magellan was by birth a Portuguese, respectably descended, and, from his earliest years, trained to the naval profession. He served in the East Indies under the renowned Albuquerque, and in 1510 attained great distinction in the battle of Malacca. We have seen that the Pope, as affected lord of earth and ocean, with a liberality limited only by the poles, divided the globe between Spain and Portugal, allotting one half to each, commencing from the boundary line already specified, and anticipating no difficulties from antipodal collision. The discovery, however, of the Molucca Islands by the Portuguese, in 1511, speedily brought the question to issue. The geographers of that age could not tell to which of the hemispheres the Moluccas belonged, nor could the donor help them; for the wisdom of his holiness was less extensive than his pretended empire. The solution of this great question was reserved for Magellan, whom the court of Portugal had neglected, perhaps injured. He nevertheless, on conceiving the grand project of circumnavigating the world, offered his services to his ungrateful country, which added to its previous indignities the contemptuous rejection of his honest tender. Thus treated, like Columbus in similar circumstances, he repaired to Spain in expectation of proper patronage. In propounding his

project to Charles V., he wisely gave to it a more practical bearing—a bearing which served powerfully to recommend it to the Spanish court. He undertook to sail by the west to the Moluccas, and thereby to prove that these islands fell within the division of the globe assigned by the Pope to the crown of Castile. The plan was approved by the King of Spain, and the services of Magellan were at once accepted. Thus a second time did the pride and selfishness of Portugal deprive her of maritime renown: by her contempt of Columbus she lost the imperishable glory of discovering America; and by her contempt of Magellan she lost the all but equal honour of the first circumnavigation of the globe.* Articles of agreement were drawn out and settled in Saragossa, and, with a squadron of five ships and two hundred and thirty-six men, Magellan sailed from San Lucar, September 20, 1519.

Magellan having reached the Canary Islands, where he obtained a supply of wood and water, proceeded on his voyage; and about the middle of December he arrived on the coast of Brazil. Again putting to sea about January 11, 1520, he reached Cape Santa Maria, on the Rio de la Plata —afterwards unhappily celebrated in connexion with the capture and calamities of the ship Duff—where they took in a supply of fresh provisions. On the eve of Easter the fleet brought up in a port designated San Julian, where they lay several months. Here Magellan's trials began. A spirit of insurrection broke out in the squadron—a spirit founded in that savage feeling, nationality, which has in all ages and countries disgraced reason, and shed torrents of human blood. Certain Spanish officers began to affect an inability to brook the indignity of serving under a Portuguese commander. In this emergency Magellan adopted measures at which humanity shudders; but measures of terrible efficiency. Having written a letter to one of the captains, who had signalized himself by his insurrectionary clamour, he selected a proper person to bear it, with instructions to stab the officer in the act of its perusal. The letter was delivered; the seal was broken; the document opened

* See Edinburgh Cabinet Library, vol. xxi. p. 38, a very excellent and accurate work.

and surveyed, and the reader in a moment became a breathless corpse. Other measures, less reprehensible and revolting, were instantly taken with other rebels; and by these dreadful methods order was soon restored.

After an unaccountable delay of about five months, the fleet put to sea again on the 21st of August. After another two months' tarriance at Santa Cruz, they sailed again; and, about the 18th of October, they discovered the strait or narrow passage which lies between the island of Tierra del Fuego and the southern extremity of the continent of America, and leads into the South Sea. This strait had been the object of his search, and on its appearance a council was held to discuss the prudence and practicability of proceeding through it to the ocean. Some faint hearts pleaded the shattered state of the fleet, and insisted on returning to Spain to refit; and others, of firmer courage, voted for the prosecution of the voyage. Magellan, wishing to test the spirits of his officers, said nothing till he had fully elicited their several views, and then, with appalling decision, he told them that, after all, discussion was nugatory, for it was his irrevocable determination, in spite of every peril, and of all perils united, to prosecute his enterprise, and fulfil the assurance he had given to his royal master. He then authoritatively commanded that, on pain of death, from that hour no man should mention either home or shortness of provisions; for the fleet should go forward, even if the crews and himself should be driven to eat the hides on the ships' yards. By this summary process did Magellan deal with the cravings of hunger, and the yearnings of affection.

The strait was explored and found navigable, the squadron accordingly entered it, and, on the 28th of November, they emerged into the South Sea. Steering northwards, to reach a milder climate, they proceeded on their voyage, amidst great distress from want of provisions and fresh water. Scurvy, accordingly, in its most frightful forms, ensued. Pigafetto, a companion of the crews in their tribulation, and the historian of the memorable voyage, thus describes their condition:—"Our greatest misfortune was

being attacked by a malady, in which the gums swelled so as to hide the teeth as well in the upper as in the lower jaw, whence those affected thus were incapable of chewing their food. Besides those who died, we had from twenty-five to thirty sailors ill, who suffered dreadful pains in their arms, legs, and other parts of the body." After entering the Pacific Ocean, their condition, for the long space of nearly four months, was one of unmingled and intolerable affliction. They were reduced literally to the distress and famine which the brave, but barbarous, commander had assumed as possible. Amid the gnawings of hunger, and the ardours of devouring thirst, they were driven to chew such portions of leather as the ships supplied; even saw-dust was devoured as if it had been the staff of life; and mice were as precious as the finest venison; these creatures were in such demand as to bring half a ducat a-piece. They drank putrid water, although less a beverage than a poison. To these miserable men, however, Hope at length unveiled her smiling face, and waved her magic wand. Early in March they saw, in the distant horizon, the semblance of land; and to their great joy, on the 6th, they discovered three islands, which were well peopled, clothed with beauty, and apparently fertile. The natives paddled off in their canoes, bearing for barter rice, yams, and cocoa-nuts, which furnished a most seasonable supply to the famishing mariners.

The islanders, though kind and hospitable, were much addicted to thieving, on account of which the group was designated the Ladrones—that is, the thieves. The savage nature of the admiral displayed itself in relation to this propensity in a manner which merits the most indignant reprobation, and which suffices to tarnish the lustre of a thousand excellences. The simple natives, captivated by its beauty, contrived to steal the skiff from the stern of the admiral's ship, upon which he landed with a body of his men, plundering the people, and burning up many of their habitations—an outrage rendered still more abominable by the effusion of human blood, for several of the poor islanders

were killed on the occasion. This cluster of islands lies in the North Pacific, to the north of the Carolines. They are fifteen or sixteen in number.

Proceeding on their way, about the middle of March, they discovered another group, which they called the Philippines. These islands form a distinct division of the Indian archipelago, and extend from Borneo nearly to Formosa. The state of the natives in this group was, perhaps, upon the whole equal, if not superior, to that of any one of the numerous islands subsequently discovered in the South Seas. They were friendly, and had made considerable approaches to civilization. Leaving Humunu, the main island, they touched at Mazagua. The king of this isle was a man of comely appearance and olive complexion. He was elegantly tattooed, and partly clothed in cotton embroidered with silk; he wore ear-rings of gold, and his head was adorned by a silken turban; a dagger with a gold handle dangled by his side; and his person was decorated with a profusion of gold rings. The people also wore ornaments of gold, and cotton head-dresses embroidered with silk. They were tattooed, and also perfumed with aromatic oils. Their lands were brought under a state of considerable cultivation, and spices were produced in abundance. For fishing they used harpoons and nets; and for war they had lances and bucklers, clubs and cutlasses. Magellan presented his majesty and his attendants with cloth of various colours, glasses, knives, and crystal beads; and presents were received in return. A slave on board, a native of Sumatra, was of great service in carrying on something of rational traffic with the natives, who understood many of his words. Here for the first time a spirit of superstition came over the mind of the boisterous admiral, who, in return for the hospitality of the islanders of Mazagua, determined, after his own notions, to make them Christians. On Easter-day, accordingly, a party of the Spaniards went on shore to say mass, when some of them received the communion, so called, at the close of which the admiral exhibited a dance with swords, which greatly delighted the king. He next proceeded to erect on a hill top a huge cross, garnished with

nails and mounted by a crown of thorns, informing the islanders that, if they continued to present to it proper adoration, it would protect them from thunder, tempests, and various calamities. The Spaniards were then formed into battalions; and, having fired a round of musketry for the confirmation of their savage disciples, they returned to the ships. Such were the first efforts of Popery for the conversion of the Philippines.

Leaving Mazagua on the 5th of April, on the 7th the squadron entered a bay or harbour at Zebu, an island rendered famous by the circumstance of its being the first settlement of the Spaniards among the Philippines. This was a place of some importance, and its king possessed considerable wealth and power. Magellan, therefore, deemed it politic at once to magnify the importance of his royal master and himself. Appearances, moreover, were rather alarming, for, on approaching the island, a body of some two thousand warriors, armed with spears and shields, stood at the waterside to receive the strangers. The ships accordingly entered the port with their colours flying, and their cannon roaring, which made the island shake, and the hearts of its heroes tremble. Magellan sent an ambassador, with Enrique the slave interpreter, to the king, who bade them welcome; and a treaty offensive and defensive was soon formed. Here again Magellan resumed his work of conversion, and in a few days baptized half their number. This operation was conducted on the shore, where a temporary chapel was constructed, in which mass was performed with all the imposing ceremonies practicable under the circumstances, to which sublimity was added by the intermingling thunder of the great guns. The royal family were among the first converts. In furtherance of his object, Magellan added a miracle to the omnipotence of gunpowder, by the performance of a cure on the king's brother—the best subject that could have been selected. The prince immediately after baptism began to recover of a dangerous illness; but a restorative cordial, repeated during several successive days, had as much to do with the marvel as the "gifts" of Magellan. The triumph of the admiral was now complete, and the work of delusion rapidly ad-

vanced. Crosses were multiplied and idols abolished; and in the course of a fortnight the entire population of Zebu, and some adjacent isles, were baptized. The inhabitants of one village, the last strong-hold of common sense, stood out; but the admiral, with his characteristic tenderness, removed the non-conformist blot by burning the village, and then erecting a cross amid its desolation and ashes. But as the spring of the tiger has sometimes landed him between the jaws of the crocodile, so the murderous courage of Magellan brought his career to a speedy end.

Magellan, finding the poor islanders and their chiefs so hospitable and friendly, rapaciously proceeded to exact tribute of them—an act of humiliation and wrong to which the bulk of the chiefs readily submitted. There was not wanting, however, one brave spirit who stood up to assert his rights as a man and as a prince, and to resist the arrogance of the Spanish admiral. The King of Matan sternly and nobly answered the piratical demand to this effect: "As strangers, I wish to supply your wants, to show you all proper respect, and I have sent you a present; but I owe no obedience to those whom till now I have never seen, and I will pay none." This manly reply, which ought to have humbled and abashed Magellan, only served to infuriate him. He instantly resolved on the destruction of the refractory prince: a deed of barbarity of which his officers exceedingly disapproved, but from which the mad admiral could not be dissuaded. It seemed now, indeed, as if heaven, impatient of his inhumanity, had given him over to a spirit of delusion, which hurried him on to ruin. On Saturday, April the 27th, he landed with a body of only forty-nine men, and attacked a multitude of about fifteen hundred natives. The Spaniards were clothed in mail, and armed with cross-bows and muskets; while the islanders used the common arrow and wooden lances. The natives, strong in a good cause, and fired by the love of all that is dearest to man, received their assailants with great courage, which increased as the battle raged. The Spanish fire, by some means, natural or extraordinary, did very little execution; and after enough time and powder had been spent to have

mowed down the half of them, their ranks appeared unbroken. The admiral, in hope of dispersing them, despatched a party of his little band to burn an adjacent village—a device which only tended to augment the fury of the natives, some of whom flew to the spot, and, falling upon the authors of their calamity, exacted their lives as the price of their crime. Those who remained to carry on the battle with Magellan began to profit by experience; perceiving that the legs of the Spaniards were not protected by the mail, at them they now took a steady aim; and, at the same time, boldly rushing on the little band, they threw them into complete disorder, and compelled them to give way on all sides. Not more than seven or eight men now remained with Magellan, who was himself wounded in the limbs by a poisoned arrow. The natives now, exerting all their strength, specially marked out the admiral for destruction. They hurled stones repeatedly against his head; they twice struck off his helmet; and, thrusting a lance through the bars, they wounded him in the temple; in addition to all this disaster, he was disabled in his sword arm. The unhappy man, with his companions, then became an easy prey; the natives urgently pressed upon them, driving them backwards to the ocean. The desperate Spaniards, however, still maintained the conflict, till they found themselves deep in the water, when an islander gave Magellan a fatal blow on the leg, which brought him down on his face among the waves. Here he was immediately despatched. His men, seeing that all was over, fled to their boats, leaving their heroic leader in the hands of their conquerors. Eight of the Spaniards were killed, and twenty-two were wounded. Thus the King of Matan nobly asserted his liberties, repelled the ruthless invader, and throughout the islands acquired for himself a matchless glory.

With all our abhorrence of his barbarities, justice demands for Magellan the praise of distinguished ability. This expedition, in point of danger and difficulty, far exceeded everything of the like nature that had been known among men; but Magellan was fully equal to its conduct and command. In no respect was he inferior to De Gama, unless it

be that he was by nature somewhat more ferocious. He is entitled to occupy a first place among that group of mighty men who arose in the maritime school of Portugal. In all those qualities essential to the highest seamanship, Magellan will not suffer by comparison even with Columbus. The superior, the peerless greatness of the latter arose from his exalted piety, his humanity, his benevolence, and his awful sense of justice. The voyage of Magellan, however, was in some respects far more adventurous and difficult than the first and great voyage of Columbus, and more than three times its length, while the afflictions from famine and disease, to which he and his crews were subjected, were incomparably greater. It is also worthy of remark, that, ever after the first mutiny, the crews and commanders of Magellan's squadron yielded the most implicit obedience, and followed him without a murmur throughout the dreary length of his apparently interminable voyage. In this respect they form a remarkable, an admirable contrast to the crew of Columbus—a contrast which can be satisfactorily accounted for only on one of two grounds: either they were a body of superior men, or Magellan had more of that authoritative and all-controlling quality essential to the effective management of impracticable materials. It is also a well attested fact, that, with all his savageness, the love of his person was equalled only by respect for his authority. If Columbus was the first discoverer of America, Magellan was the first circumnavigator of the globe.

On the death of the admiral, which Pigafetta described as the extinction of their guide, their light, and their support, the King of Zebu proved treacherous, and a massacre of the principal Spaniards ensued, in which the captains perished. The adventurous crew, however, held on their voyage for the Moluccas, of which they had heard at Zebu. They touched at the island of Bohol, at Chippit in Mindanao, and at Cagayan Sooloo, where they received the first intelligence of Borneo, the largest of the Sunda islands, and, next to Australia, the largest in the world. After much hardship they reached Puluan, where they procured provisions and a pilot; and then proceeded to Borneo, at which they arrived on July 8th, 1521. The king received them well,

but they soon quarrelled. The squadron, after some depredations, put to sea again, and touching at Sarrangan, where they obtained pilots, they proceeded in search of the Moluccas, and on the 8th of November they arrived at Tidore. Here they were hospitably received; a large amount of barter was carried on, and by the middle of December their cargo was completed: but it was then discovered that one of the vessels, the Trinidad, was unfit for sea. The Vitoria, therefore,—the other vessel having been previously destroyed—with forty-seven Europeans, some Indians, and Molucca pilots, put to sea alone on her return to Spain. The Trinidad, having refitted, proceeded to recross the Pacific, but was nearly wrecked; and, being driven back by adverse winds, she fell into the hands of the Portuguese, and her crew were made prisoners. After much distress, a mutiny, and the loss of twenty men, the Vitoria reached San Lucar, on Saturday, September 6th, 1522, and on the 8th went up the river to Seville. Thus ended a voyage that had consumed three years and thirty-seven days, during which the Vitoria sailed nearly 15,000 leagues. Of the whole squadron she was the only ship that returned to Spain; the admiral and all the original captains came to an untimely end. Of two hundred and thirty-four officers and seamen, only thirteen Spaniards survived to visit their native land; and of sixty men who had sailed from the Moluccas with the Vitoria, only eighteen came back to Spain. This handful of survivors, on reaching Seville, walked to church in their shirts, barefooted, with burning tapers in their hands, to return thanks to the Most High for their wondrous preservation.

By this celebrated voyage several great objects were realized. The spherical form of the earth was thus satisfactorily demonstrated: the southern boundary of the American continent was ascertained, and the extent of the mighty ocean which rolls between it and Asia determined; the first portion of the islands of the Pacific was discovered; and a path opened up to succeeding navigators.

During the sixteenth century, three additional voyages of circumnavigation were performed: the first by Drake, the second by Cavendish, and the third by Van Noort, besides

other voyages, great, although of more limited extent. By these means the work of discovery had been considerably advanced among the islands, and along two of the coasts, of the South Sea. The American continent, its western boundary, was explored from New Albion to Cape Pilares on Tierra del Fuego; Drake had even seen Cape Horn, its southern promontory and extreme limit; and the Dutch had discovered New South Shetland. A number of islands along the coast had also been found, among which were Chiloe, Mocha, Mas-afuera, Juan Fernandez, San Felix, San Amber, San Tomas, and the Pearl Islands. The eastern boundary of the Southern Pacific was less known; yet even here, great things had been accomplished. The Japan islands, Formosa, and, as we have already seen, the Philippines or Archipelago of St. Lazarus, Borneo, the Moluccas, Papua or New Guinea, and several smaller islands, had all, with more or less minuteness, been examined, and might be considered as defining the eastern limits of the Pacific, from the latitude of forty degrees north, to that of ten degrees on the opposite side of the equator. Southward of this, all was unexplored and unknown; but the geographers of that age, the dupes of hypothesis, confidently held that it embraced a vast continent, which extended from New Guinea to the neighbourhood of Tierra del Fuego, which they designated *Terra Australis nondum cognita*,—the land of the south not yet descried. Something, however little, had also been done in the way of discovery among the innumerable clusters of beautiful islands which bestud the bosom of that vast ocean. Las Desventuradas, the Ladrones or Marians, the Sequeira or Pelew, and several others of the Carolines; the islands of San Bernardo, Las Marquesas, Solitaria, the Solomons, Santa Cruz, and a few smaller groups, were all that were known of those countries and islands, the extent and number of which have at length claimed for them the rank of a fifth division of the globe.* We shall afterwards speak more particularly of those groups in which the London Missionary Society commenced its first operations.

* See Edin. Cab. Lib. vol. xxi. p. 103.

CHAPTER III.

PRINCIPAL GROUPS OF ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN, AND ORIGIN OF THEIR INHABITANTS.

Extent of Discovery—Dimensions of the Ocean—Division and Classification of the Islands—Their History—Two classes of Population—Malay Classes—Proofs of Malay Origin—Negro Classes—First Stations of the London Missionary Society.

The work of the pure geographer, in relation to the islands of the South Seas, is now far advanced towards a state of completion. Although many separate isles, and even some small groups, may yet remain to be found, nevertheless it is certain that the general harvest of discovery has been reaped, and that, with the exception of some outskirt patches, nothing remains but the gleanings. The limits of that mighty ocean are tolerably defined, and the mass of its habitable islands determined, denominated, and classified. This immense region of islands extends upwards of five thousand miles north and south, and three thousand six hundred east and west. The islands are by nature arranged in two divisions,—those on the north of the line, and those on the south of it. On the north are the Ladrone, Pelew, and Caroline islands, the Rolick Chain, and Radsack Chain, and the Sandwich Islands; on the south are the Friendly Isles, New Hebrides, Navigator's Islands, Hervey Islands, Society Islands, Georgian Islands, Austral Islands, Marquesas, and Washington Islands.

To the work of the geographer naturally succeeds that of the historian; but, in regard to those islands, their authentic history can be carried back little further than the date of their discovery. A multitude of interesting historical questions respecting them must therefore remain for ever unanswered. When did their peopling commence? Which island was first occupied? Whence came the occupants?

What was their number? How were they conveyed thither? Were they borne along involuntarily by the breath of the storm, or did they emigrate? What was the course taken subsequently by the work of diffusion? How came it that islands so numerous, so widely spread, and so distant, have at length all been populated? Was it the fruit of chance, or of design, or of a series of special providences? Answers to these, and a few more similar questions, would go far to illumine the domestic economy, political state, and theology of these remarkable people. In the absence of such answers, the only remaining method of eliciting even one spark of light upon the subject, is, to compare the islanders among themselves and with the inhabitants of the adjacent and surrounding isles and continents, in relation to all the main points in which comparison is practicable. This has been attempted by several hands, and the result has supplied a number of satisfactory conclusions.

The main facts may soon be stated. The best possible proof of a common descent is community of form and feature, of language, manners, and customs. Now, it may be confidently affirmed that the isles of the Pacific are peopled by two races of men, the differences and distinction of whose origin are clearly indicated by their physical conformation, colour, and language. These races seem to claim paternity with the Negro and with the Malay, respectively. In the one, the frame is large, the skin black, and the hair crisped; in the other, the frame is well moulded, the hair fine and glossy, the skin copper-coloured, and the countenance partakes strongly the cast of the Malay. This latter class are found to occupy the Sandwich, the Marquesan, the Paumotu, the Tahitian and Society, the Austral, the Hervey, the Navigator's, and the Friendly Islands, New Zealand, and all the smaller islands in their respective neighbourhoods. The negro islanders, on the other hand, are found to inhabit the eastern part of Holland, New Guinea, New Britain, New Ireland, the Archipelago of Lousiade, Solomon's Isles, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, and the Fijis. In most of the islands there is a slight intermixture, but this distinction is well founded in the manifest difference of these two races. The

original of these races, respectively, are not equally obvious; for the Asiatic origin of the superior class admits of absolute demonstration. One common language prevails among them all: that language comprises a multitude of dialects, but all are reducible to one radical tongue, and indeed so similar as to enable the natives of the most distant parts, to a large extent, to understand each other, and soon to converse with freedom. But while these dialects all accord, and emphatically proclaim community of origin, it admits of equal proof that the radical language is that of the Malays. This point—of itself sufficient to settle the whole question—has been proved beyond the possibility of doubt.

But, to the great argument resulting from language, colour, and physical conformation, must be added others of the utmost force. The readers of "Campbell's India" and "Williams's Enterprises" will perceive many points of analogy between the inhabitants of the regions described; and more especially will these resemblances appear on the subject of sacred interdiction—*caste* and *tabu*—of female treatment—of *suttee*—of conduct towards the aged and the sick—of games, amusements, manners, and worship. To this view, however, several objections have been started; but to us they appear to carry little weight, and a formal discussion of them is not necessary to our present object.*

The time is not yet come for dealing effectively with the subject of the negro islanders. Points which now perplex us may soon and easily be cleared up, when we know a little more of them and their institutions; hitherto, however, the attention of our missionaries has been almost wholly confined to the superior class. But, in the mean time, we can see no great difficulty attendant on the fact of their existence, either in a state of intermixture or as a distinct nation, between the Malayan Archipelago and the islands of which the emigrant Malays have become the possessors. The negroes may have reached their destination by the same or similar means, and many causes, founded in pride, or politics, or whim, as in America, may have prevented a larger

* See Marsden's History of Sumatra, p. 431; Williams's Enterprises, p. 508; and Dr. Lang's View of the Polynesian Nation.

intermixture, and, in many instances, have worked an ultimate separation. But, be these things as they may, when missionaries shall once have settled among them, fully developed the principles of their language, analysed their superstitions, manners, customs, and gathered up their popular traditions on the subject of their own origin and history, all that is mysterious and intricate will probably become clear, plain, and certain.

The directors of the London Missionary Society, after determining to commence their glorious labours among the islands of the South Seas, selected, as primary stations, Otaheite, the chief of the Tahitian group, Tongataboo, the principal of the Friendly Isles, and Christina, one of the Marquesas,—as commanding centres from which the light of life might be diffused to the surrounding members of their respective groups. It is proper, therefore, that we should rehearse, in chronological order, the main facts connected with their discovery.

CHAPTER IV.

DISCOVERY OF THE MARQUESAS.

Discovery of the Marquesas—Beauty of the Natives—Spanish Barbarity—Mass performed—Murder of Natives—Cook's Visit—A Thief shot—Red Feathers—Subsequent Visits and Events.

The Marquesas are a cluster of five islands in the South Pacific, which were discovered by Alvaro Mendano de Neyra, a Spanish navigator, on the 21st of July, 1595, and named in honour of his patron the Marquess de Mendoza, viceroy of Peru. When, on the day following, the squadron drew near the shore of the island Ohittahoo, a large body of the natives made towards the ships, many swimming, and others paddling in canoes, about seventy of which approached the vessels The Spaniards were exceedingly struck with the extraordinary beauty and the gentle manners of the natives. The former of these characteristics has equally attracted the notice of all subsequent visiters. On the 25th, Mendano despatched a boat to examine Ohittahoo, which he called Santa Christina. Manriquez, who commanded the boat, landed, and marched with twenty soldiers, by beat of drum, around the northern village; but the quiet inhabitants did not stir from their houses till the party halted, and called for them, when about three hundred men and women peaceably advanced. In compliance with the request of the Spaniards, they brought several kinds of fruit, and a quantity of water in the shells of the cocoa-nut. The women, upon invitation, sat down among the soldiers; but the men were imperiously ordered to stand at a distance, and to fetch more water in certain jars which had been brought in the boat. The poor simple natives, captivated by the sight of vessels so capacious and convenient, seemed disposed to keep them,—an act for which the inhuman Manriquez commanded his party to fire upon them.

On the 28th, Mendano brought his squadron to anchor in the harbour, after which mass was performed on its shore, when the natives stood and silently viewed the novel spectacle. After taking formal possession of the country, in the name of the Spanish king, he endeavoured to establish a friendly intercourse with the people, and benevolently sowed some Indian corn in their island. On returning to the ship, he left the ferocious Manriquez in command of the party on shore, when another quarrel speedily broke forth, and many of the natives were killed by the musketry, with which they were cruelly pursued while retreating, with their women and children, to the woods; whence the harmless but exasperated savages vainly attempted to annoy the strong invaders with lances and stones. After some days' resistance, they made overtures of submission, and brought presents of fruit to the guards which had been placed at the principal avenues. Intercourse being renewed, some of the islanders and Spaniards formed close acquaintanceships; and a native, who became intimate with Mendano's chaplain, went on board with him; this savage discovered great docility, and seemed distressed by the chaplain's departure. Having refitted one of his vessels, and erected some crosses on the shore, on August the 5th Mendano sailed.

From the days of Mendano till those of Captain Cook, no further visit was paid by any navigator to those amiable islanders. Cook reached the port, Madre de Dios, of the original discoverer, on the 7th of April, 1774, where he anchored, and was soon approached by a considerable number of canoes; but the natives betrayed strong symptoms of either fear or caution, and were with difficulty induced to come near to the captain's vessel. Several presents, however, brought one of the skiffs under the quarter gallery; like sheep, the rest followed the example, and a little barter for provisions shortly ensued. The natives, however, had provided for the worst; each canoe had a heap of stones on its bow, and every man had his sling in his hand. As the night drew on, this first company of natives peaceably retired, and, on the morning of the following day, they returned in greater numbers well stocked with articles of

provision for traffic. They soon showed a disposition to cheat, till a musket was fired over the head of one who seemed an adept in the art of deception. At this time a considerable number of the natives were on board, and Cook, who was then in one of the boats, being informed that an iron stanchion had been stolen, commanded to fire over the canoe in which the thief was fleeing, but not to kill any person in it. The commands of the captain were not distinctly heard amid the gabble and tumult, and the malefactor was shot dead at the third charge. Smitten by an invisible hand, he fell a corpse; the iron was immediately thrown overboard, and two persons who were with him, overwhelmed by the terrible event, sprang into the sea, but in a short time they clambered into the skiff again, and took their seats beside the dead man, where they presented a most affecting spectacle. One of them sat baling the blood and water out of the canoe, in a kind of hysteric laugh; the other, a youth about fourteen years of age, looked with a serious and dejected countenance on the deceased, who, it was afterwards understood, was his father. This unhappy circumstance put an immediate stop to all further intercourse. The islanders, full of apprehension, assembled on the shore, armed with spears and clubs, and drew up under some rocks on the north side of the harbour. Cook, anxious to cultivate peace, and to procure fresh provisions for his men, went to meet them with a party under arms. Explanations took place, and friendship, with barter, speedily followed.

After this event, things went on comfortably, and an ample supply of various fruits, pigs, fowls, and other things, at moderate prices, were readily brought. But some gentlemen introduced new articles of trade, particularly red feathers—objects more precious than can be easily conceived among these children of nature, from their intimate relation to the costume and services of idolatry. Trinkets, nails, tools, and all things were now despised, and every voice demanded feathers. Had the supply been sufficient, they might have procured whatever the islanders possessed; but unhappily the quantity was very limited, and when the

feathers failed there was no more food. The islanders supposed that, for the means of existence, they might make their own terms, and, rejecting everything else, in return for provisions they resolutely demanded feathers; and, under these circumstances, the commander was constrained at once to quit the island; and he accordingly sailed on the 11th of April.

Le Marchand, a Frenchman, next visited the Marquesas about the year 1789, and was followed at various intervals by American vessels, that were engaged in the fur trade, and touched at Christina for provisions. On March the 22d, 1792, the Dædalus store-ship touched at Ohittahoo or Christina, on her way from England to join Captain Vancouver. On this occasion the generous and noble spirit of the Englishman was strongly contrasted with the barbarous ferocity of the Spaniard. The natives soon purloined the buoy of one of the anchors; but they thoughtfully left a piece of wood in its stead, tied to the buoy rope, which directed the crew to recover the anchor. Lieutenant Hergest, with a party of four men, went on shore in search of water, when the natives stole the buckets; and, in addition to this, they snatched his fowling-piece from his hand. On returning to the boat, he found that the natives, by diving, had cut away the grapnel, which had secured it. All this provocation was endured with magnanimous patience by the lieutenant, who, on regaining the boat, rowed close to the shore, and merely fired a volley of musketoons and small arms over the heads of the native crowd, all of whom precipitately fled to the woods with the exception of one valiant savage, who stood his ground, and threw stones at the boat's crew. Instead of shooting the barbarous patriot dead on the spot, the British tars rather admired his heroism. To end the strife, and to awe, without injuring, the inoffensive savages, the Dædalus fired a few cannon shot over the southern village, which so terrified the inhabitants that they fled in all directions to the mountains, where they skulked till sunset, when one of them swam off with a green bough wrapped in white cloth, which he threw into the ship and immediately returned ashore. Thus was peace effected,

and friendship restored, without the effusion of one drop of human blood.

The lieutenant, on the following day, went to the watering-place, with a party whom the natives of their own accord cheerfully assisted to fill and roll the casks, with which they also swam to the boats, and were suitably rewarded for their labour. Several thefts were still perpetrated; but, by prudent and peaceful means, the grapnel, a fowling-piece, and the astronomer's theodolite, were all recovered. The crowd of the islanders increased with their confidence, so as to incommode the ship's company in their work; the colours were therefore hoisted, to signify that they must keep off from the vessel. To this prohibition the men submitted, but the women persisted in swimming to the ship, till to deter them muskets were repeatedly fired over their heads. Thefts, however, were still frequent and daring, and the chiefs wanted either authority or inclination to repress them; the English, nevertheless, abstained from all wanton violence towards the plunderers; but one person, who made off from the ship with a bucket, was unintentionally wounded by a shot; no other damage, however, was occasioned by the presence and power of the Dædalus, which on March the 29th sailed from Ohittahoo.* The Prince William Henry, which left Otaheite on the same day, next visited Christina, where her stay was very short, and nothing occurred worthy of observation. To the Prince succeeds the Butterworth, commanded by Captain Brown, who anchored in Port Madre de Dios on the 1st of June, 1792, but staid only two days to take in fresh water. There is no evidence of any further visit to Ohittahoo, till the 4th of June, 1797—the memorable day when the Duff approached its shores.

* See Wilson's Voyage of the Dædalus.

CHAPTER V.

DISCOVERY OF TONGATABOO.

Character of the Inhabitants—Barter—Native Hospitality—The Divining Cup—Conduct of Tasman—His Views—Change in Cook's time—Successive Visits of Cook—Captive King—Subsequent Visits—Importance of Tongataboo as a Mission Station.

The Tonga Islands comprise the island of Tonga, or Tongataboo, the Hapai Islands, and Vavaoo. They are situated to the south of the Friendly Islands, and are sometimes considered as belonging to that group. Tongataboo is the principal island of the cluster so denominated; it was discovered by Tasman, a Dutch navigator, January 21, 1643. Of all the islands of the Pacific, perhaps, there have been none in which the natives have displayed so much amiability. From their manners and benevolent dispositions they received from Cook, a century afterwards, the distinguished appellation by which they are known—the Friendly Islands. Their confidence was as great as their benevolence; and, like men conscious of intending no evil, they seemed to dread none. A canoe coming off to the ship, the natives heartily shouted as they approached; and the cheer was returned by the Dutch, who first showed them a piece of fine linen, and then pitched it towards the canoe, but falling into the sea it began to sink before they could grasp it. One of the natives plunged after it and brought it up, when, as if in token of thankfulness, he laid it several times on his head. Tasman then gave them presents of nails, looking-glasses, beads, and other trinkets, which they also laid on their heads. In the afternoon a canoe came off, bearing emblems of peace, and containing four individuals, whose bodies were painted black from the waist to the thigh, and their necks covered with leaves. These persons brought a present of native cloth, and in return they received a piece of linen, a mirror, a knife,

and some spike nails. A glass being filled with wine and offered to them, they threw away the wine, and, appearing to think the glass a gift equally with its contents, they carried it on shore with them. A number of canoes soon after arrived, and offered to barter cocoa-nuts for nails. About sunset a large number of canoes paddled from the shore, and drew up in regular order beside the ship. Their demeanour seemed to bespeak authority; they shouted repeatedly in a bold and manly voice, "*Woo! woo! woo!*" After this, all on board sat down, and one canoe, advancing alongside, delivered a present from the king, comprising a hog, cocoa-nuts, and yams—a very welcome gift, which was repaid by a plate and a portion of brass wire. The nails seemed to possess a value sufficient to have put the whole island in motion; provisions, in exchange for them, poured in upon the vessel till night, when the barter was suspended only to be renewed in the morning.

A feeling of mutual friendship was now shared on both sides, and the natives manifested the deepest interest in their visitors; but, being addicted to theft, they practised it whenever they found an opportunity—an act, on that and other islands, the less remarkable, where almost all things are, in a measure, common. The ship supplied a wondrous museum of art and power; and the firing of a great gun was an event of the utmost moment. It inspired great momentary terror, but, as it was attended with no mischief, composure and courage soon returned. The attentions received on board were fully repaid by the natives on shore. The seamen, on repairing to the island for water, found the wells so very small that no vessel larger than a cocoa-nut shell could be dipped in them. They made signs to the chief that the fountains, to meet their necessities, must be made bigger. He gave instant commands to his people to enlarge them; and, while this was being done, he led the mariners into a beautiful valley, where he furnished them with a sumptuous entertainment. Among the various presents given to the ruler was a wooden bowl—the same, doubtless, that long afterwards was used by the sovereign of Tongataboo as a divining cup, to convict persons accused of crimes; and a cup to which

the same homage that was rendered to the sovereign when present, was paid during his absence, as his representative.

Tasman states that he saw no arms among the people, and that the reign of peace and friendship appeared to have been undisturbed from time immemorial. There is reason to suspect he erred in opinion; or else, from the days of Tasman to the arrival of the Duff with her missionary passengers, great changes in this respect had come over the spirits of the people. Tasman seems, however, to have acted with much propriety among the innocent islanders. Before departing, he ordered a white flag to be brought, and with this he went to three of the chiefs, to whom he explained, that he wished it to be set up in the valley above mentioned, where the seamen had been feasted with cocoanuts, fish, and fruits, that it might there remain as a symbol of peace between them. This proposal was very grateful to the natives, and there the flag was fixed according to the commander's wishes.

Tasman considered them ignorant of all religion, and strangers to the practice of every sort of worship. He saw no temples, no idols, no priests; but he perceived that they had a devout regard for the serpent brood. He beheld one of them take up a water-snake which was near his boat, and put it respectfully upon his head, and then again into the water. They killed no flies, although they were very numerous, and a great plague to the island. His steersman accidentally destroyed a fly in the presence of one of the principal people, who severely frowned upon him for the deed. Tasman also testifies that they had made considerable progress in agriculture, and that he saw several pieces of cultivated ground or gardens, where the beds were regularly laid out into squares, and filled with different plants and fruits, bananas and other trees, placed in straight lines, which were pleasing to the eye, and diffused a delightful odour.* Tasman, however, was upon the whole a superficial observer, and, though a credible witness as to facts, his opinions deserve but little regard.

* See Tasman's Journal.

In the year 1773—an interval of one hundred and thirty years,—when Captain Cook first visited Tongataboo, the Friendly Islanders showed the same kindness to Cook as their ancestors had done to Tasman. Weapons of a very formidable description, however, were now found among them, although they generally went unarmed. Their spears were barbed in a most dangerous manner, and their clubs curiously carved. They were then but little acquainted with the value of iron, of which the only article found among them was an awl, formed of a nail. This had been brought from a distant island, where Captain Wallis had left it. The articles given to their ancestors by Tasman had long since been worn out, and most of them forgotten since his voyage; the tradition of his visit had, nevertheless, been preserved, and even its period was ascertained by them.

Cook revisited Tongataboo in 1777, and presented a bull and cow, a horse and mare, a ram and two ewes, with some goats, to Poulaho, the king, and Fenou, commander-in-chief of both the military and naval forces. Some of the animals having previously been stolen from Cook, he at once put the king and several chiefs into confinement till restitution was made. The stratagem succeeded. The natives foolishly assembled in arms to release them; but King Poulaho ordered them to desist from hostile attempts. His commands were understood. The animals were soon brought back, when the king and his nobles were immediately set at liberty. These events, however, caused no diminution of friendship, nor even the slightest interruption to their entertainments. At the close of these, some of the officers, while roaming over the island, were plundered both of the articles they had carried with them for trade, and of their arms. On hearing of this, the king and his chiefs removed from the neighbourhood to avoid a second captivity in the hands of Cook; but they returned on the assurance that no violence would be used towards them, and they speedily caused the articles which had been stolen to be restored. The king, when afterwards dining on board, seemed highly pleased with the pewter plates; and, being presented with one, he frankly declared that he would substitute it for the bowl or

wooden cup which had previously sustained the offices of chief justice and viceroy.

It is not certain that any other navigator visited Tongataboo till the last day of December, 1787, when M. de la Perouse passed it to the westward, and simply laid-to, without anchoring; and when a number of canoes, having approached within twenty yards of the French ships, the natives leaped out of them, and swam alongside with cocoanuts in each hand, which they exchanged very honestly for bits of iron, nails, and small hatchets. Captain Edwards, of the Pandora, who came, about the end of July, 1791, in search after the mutineers of the Bounty, was the next visitant. His stay was nearly as limited as that of Perouse. Finally, D'Entrecasteaux and Huon anchored at Tongataboo, March 3, 1793, and were very hospitably entertained, but no occurrence of any importance took place. There is no evidence that any other European vessel subsequently touched at this island, previous to the arrival of the ship Duff with the servants of the Most High God, who went to show unto the islanders the way of salvation.

Tongataboo was considered, by the directors of the London Missionary Society, to be highly desirable as the seat of a mission, from the extensive and intimate connexion which subsisted betwixt it and a multitude of surrounding islands. While most of those which were dispersed over the Pacific Ocean were independent of each other, or but slightly connected, Tongataboo was the centre of government to a surprising number. Another remarkable circumstance, in connexion with this numerous group, is the fact, that it chiefly extends in the direction of north and south, which renders the communication practicable each way during the trade wind; and most, if not all, the islands were regularly visited by the sovereign or the commander-in-chief. On these grounds it was, doubtless, an object of vast moment to effect the establishment of a mission of great strength in this imperial isle; and it will be ultimately seen that measures were taken for realizing it.

CHAPTER VI.

DISCOVERY OF OTAHEITE.

Southern Continent—Discovery of Otaheite—Cross erected—Genius of Discovery in England—Royal Instructions to Byron—Expedition of Byron—Expedition of Wallis—Discovery of Otaheite—Its Aspect—Assault by a Goat—A Skirmish—Great Battle—Second Battle—Peace and Friendship—Gold and Spike-nails—Parting Presents.

The delusion of a southern continent was attended with results of the utmost moment in relation to maritime discovery. Pedro Fernandez de Quiros was prominent among those who contended for the existence of such a continent, or at least of an immense mass of islands, the antipodes of the greater part of Europe, Africa, and Asia. He pursued his object till the Spanish court extended to him its patronage; and having constructed two substantial vessels, on December the 21st, 1605, he sailed from the port of Calao. He held on his way to the south, meeting a number of uninhabited islands, till February the 10th, 1606, when he approached an island divided by a narrow isthmus, which he named La Sagitaria, and which from its latitude and longitude, its extent and form, and other circumstances, modern geographers have generally identified with Otaheite. On going ashore, the Spaniards were well received by the natives, who were naked, and variously armed with lances of thick wood, burnt at the ends, with swords of the wood of the palm-tree, and with great clubs. The Spaniards, while roaming among the groves, discovered an altar rudely formed of stones. On this occasion Torquemada, who wrote the chronicles of the expedition, uses the following remarkable language: "Our people, solicitous, where the Prince of Darkness had dwelt, to place the royal standard whereby the Prince of Light gave life to us, with Christian zeal cut down a tree with their knives, which they formed into a cross and fixed in the

middle of the place,"*—a symbol of salvation which has been gloriously interpreted in Otaheite. This was a faint and mingled ray of that blessed light which, at a later age, shone with such effulgence through the medium of England.

During several ages no more is heard of this celebrated isle. The spirit of adventure, as if subdued by the intensity of its own emotions, and its prolonged gigantic efforts, was hushed to rest. In Portugal, Spain, and Holland, where the genius of maritime discovery and of ocean empire had successively appeared in its power and glory, all was still, while she had moved her seat to England, where from an early period she received both a royal and a republican welcome. At length George III. ascended the throne—an event which proved the commencement of a new era in maritime enterprise. The principles which then animated the work of discovery, on the one hand, partook less of a religious or superstitious character, and on the other, less of a selfish, and ambitious, political one, than they had ever done at previous periods among other European princes and powers. The instructions delivered to the commander of the first expedition under the auspices of George, and dated June 17th, 1764, set this matter in a clear and satisfactory light. That instrument runs thus:—"Whereas nothing can redound more to the honour of this nation, as a maritime power, to the dignity of the crown of Great Britain, and to the advancement of the trade and navigation thereof, than to make discoveries of countries hitherto unknown; and whereas there is reason to believe that lands and islands of great extent, hitherto unvisited by any European power, may be found in the Atlantic Ocean, between the Cape of Good Hope and the Magellanic Strait, within the latitudes convenient for navigation, and in climates adapted to the produce of commodities useful in commerce; and whereas his Majesty's islands, called Pepy's Island and Falkland's Island, lying within the said track, notwithstanding their having been first discovered and visited by British navigators, have never yet been so sufficiently surveyed, as that an accurate judgment may be

* Dalrymple, Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 113.

formed of their coast and product, his Majesty, taking the premises into consideration, and conceiving no conjunction so proper for an enterprise of this nature as a time of profound peace, which his kingdom at present happily enjoys, has thought fit that it should now be undertaken."*

The wide difference between this document and the kindred productions of Spain and Portugal will be at once apparent. The salvation of men was clearly no part of George's object, in prosecuting maritime enterprise. He left this to the missionary spirit of the faithful among his people, and with what propriety he thus acted, let the events of the last half century declare! The squadron appointed for this expedition consisted of two ships, the Tamar and the Dolphin, with 307 officers and men, and sailed from Plymouth July 3, 1764. The real object of the expedition was concealed, and, the better to cloak it, the seamen were engaged to sail to the East Indies; but on October 22, after leaving Rio Janeiro, they were summoned on deck, and informed that they had commenced a voyage of discovery, and that their pay was to be doubled—an intimation which diffused much joy in all their bosoms. Proceeding according to his instructions, Commodore Byron discovered the islands of Disappointment, King George, Prince of Wales, Danger, and Duke of York. In his course he visited Batavia, and, after an absence of one year and ten months, he returned to England. About three months subsequently, another expedition was sent forth to pursue the same general object, composed of the Dolphin and the Swallow. The command of the squadron was given to Captain Wallis, who sailed from Plymouth August 22, 1766. The vessels proceeded to the Straits of Magellan, of which they reached the western mouth on the 11th of April, 1767; and the very day they entered the South Sea, they unhappily parted to meet no more. Captain Wallis, with whom we must now keep company, steered to the north-west, and on his way successively discovered the islands of Whitsunday, Queen Charlotte, Egmont, Gloucester, Cumberland, Prince William Henry, and Osnaburg, or Maiteo.

* Hawkesworth's Voyages, General Introduction, pp. i. ii.

On June the 17th, 1767, the queen of isles, Otaheite, appeared. Its lofty mountains were seen afar, but it was not reached till the next morning, when they approached it in a thick fog, which quite concealed its shores. As the day advanced the mists were cleared away, and the splendid beauties of the island became manifest. The mariners stood enchanted with its loveliness. Its fertile plains, towering mountains, rocks, rivers, and groves, its smiling habitations, and teeming myriads of human beings, all conspired to invest it with a most romantic interest. The charm was heightened by the presence of about eight hundred natives, who swarmed in canoes around the ship, gazing on her majestic fabric with inexpressible astonishment. That wonder was enhanced by a prophecy, which the arrival of the Dolphin had fairly fulfilled. A prediction had been handed down from a distant period, uttered by Maui, a celebrated sage, that in future ages a *vaa ama ore*, an outriggerless canoe, would reach their shores from a distant country. This was deemed a very improbable, or rather an impossible event, an outrigger being indispensable to balance their canoes, and keep them upright in the water. While gazing on the noble structure before their eyes, they unanimously declared, that the prophecy of Maui was fulfilled by the advent of the Dolphin.*

At length several of the natives were induced to come on board; but a goat on deck induced their speedy departure. The animal rudely butted at a native, who turned quickly round to discover his assailant, and beholding a creature of a species he had never seen, raised on its hind legs, and prepared to repeat its attack, he was seized with such alarm that he sprang into the sea, and was immediately followed by all his native brethren. They soon returned, however, and were cheered by the presentation of trinkets and nails; but one of them snatched a new laced hat from the head of a midshipman, and, exulting in his booty, jumped over the side of the vessel, when the rest, as if apprehensive of danger, precipitately fled.

* See Mr. Ellis's Polynesian Researches.

In the afternoon again, a considerable number of canoes surrounded the vessel, and gave strong indications of hostility. With a view to their intimidation and dispersion, Wallis ordered a great gun to be fired over their heads. The effect of the shot, however, was transient, and the savages boldly endeavoured to cut off the boats, while a shower of stones was poured upon the people of the Dolphin. To put a stop to this mode of procedure, a musket was fired at the native who led on the assault. The shot hit his shoulder, and his companions perceiving an effusion of blood to proceed from an invisible agency, leaped into the water, while the other canoes speedily dispersed. Peace was soon restored again, but broken the following day. The same thing repeatedly occurred; but on June 24th matters assumed an aspect more serious than usual. A busy traffic commenced in hogs, fowls, and fruit, for nails, knives, and trinkets. The number of canoes continued unaccountably to accumulate all day; and those which latterly arrived were double, very large, and considerably filled with round pebble stones, while each had a complement of twelve or fifteen powerful men. At length the double canoes closed around the Dolphin; certain warriors sung—some sounded the conch—and others played on a wind instrument; and, to mask their purpose, a leading personage, sitting on a canopy in a small boat, came close to the ship, and handed up a bunch of red and yellow feathers. The captain accepted the gift as a token of friendship in the supposed spirit of it, and was proceeding to present something in return, but the native immediately paddled off, and threw into the air a branch of the cocoa-nut tree, which was the signal for battle. A wild shout burst from the assembled host; the whole mass of the war canoes rapidly concentrated upon the Dolphin; and stones were poured like hail upon her from every quarter. Two swivels loaded with small shot were immediately fired upon them. The effect was to stun the natives only for a moment; the attack was forthwith renewed by about three hundred canoes, containing not less than two thousand men, while thousands lined the shore. The position of the crew of the Dolphin was now one of the utmost peril. The men, therefore, at once

repaired to their quarters, and opened a fire from the great guns, which soon cleared the space around the ship, and prevented the embarkation of more warriors. But the brave Tahitians were not to be thus put down. When the firing ceased, the canoes mustered again; and for a time, like the crouching tiger, lay at a considerable distance surveying the Dolphin; when in a moment they hoisted white streamers, and, avoiding the sides of the vessel from which the thunder had previously poured, in a dense mass they approached the stern as a posture of safety, and again commenced a shower of stones, each about two pounds weight, which they slung with such force and certainty, that they seriously wounded many of the seamen. Another body of canoes came to assail her from the bow, as a place of corresponding security, in one of which there seemed to be a chief. To meet this new emergency, guns were run both to the stem and the stern. A shot from one of these smote the vessel of the person deemed a chief, and cleaved it asunder. This struck terror into all hearts: it was the signal for complete dispersion, and in a brief space, not one canoe was to be seen, while those who had covered the shore fled with the utmost haste, and in terror, to the mountains.

Even this fearful display, however, did not suffice fully to subdue the noble natives of Otaheite. The night of the 25th was a season of great excitement. Along the coasts lights shone thick as stars; the sound of drums was heard, the peal of the conch echoed from vale to vale; and at early morn the savages began to muster in thousands on every side. The canoes swarmed along the shore, where they received hosts of warriors and bags of stones. The beach was covered with multitudes, all hastening to the river; and the hill which overlooked the harbour was clothed with females and young people, who had assembled to view the coming crisis, for all appeared to feel as if on the result of this awful day depended the fate of the island. After the completion of their preparations, the canoes in shoals approached the Dolphin. Wallis now perceived that nothing could intimidate these brave savages but the fullest display of the deadly and irresistible force of fire-arms; and he con-

sidered that the most humane course was to make one grand demonstration, which might at once terminate hostilities, and save all further effusion of blood. He accordingly poured a destructive fire on every side, and the feeble armada was immediately dispersed like a flock of sparrows at the first fire of a musket. Those canoes that had sea-room soon got beyond the reach of the cannon-shot; and those toward the west side were hastily run on shore, and there abandoned by their affrighted crews. The great guns were then pointed to the woods, from which the whizzing balls soon dislodged the skulking warriors, who then hastened to ascend the eminence on which the women and children had seated themselves. Thousands thronged the hill in fancied security, when Captain Wallis, to give a finish to the work of intimidation, ordered several of the guns to be directed to that spot. The arrival of two cannon balls in their midst inspired such dread, that, in a few minutes, not one of the immense multitude was to be seen. It only remained to add to the terror of the artillery the demolition of a portion of their flotilla; and the carpenters were therefore ordered to destroy all the canoes that had been run aground. A few hours beheld the beach strewed with the wrecks of fifty or sixty of their vessels; some of which were not less than sixty feet in length.

This awful demonstration at once put an end to the war. The natives were now convinced that the contest was hopeless; they, therefore, like wise men, determined on securing the friendship of their awful visitants. Some time after the battle, ten or twelve of them came forth from the woods with green boughs, which they stuck up on the shore, leaving beside them hogs and bundles of cloth. This token of peace was accepted, and presents made in return. Harmony was now fairly established, and traffic again commenced. Captain Wallis, in order to discover their tastes, and the relative value in which various objects were held among them, laid down in their sight a Johannes, a guinea, a crown piece, a Spanish dollar, a few shillings, some new halfpence, and two large nails, calling on them by signs to take what they most preferred. The nails were first seized with great

eagerness; and then a few of the halfpence, but the silver and gold lay neglected. The Dolphin was now abundantly supplied with every necessary; and after a stay of five weeks, during which the health of her crew was fully re-established, Captain Wallis sailed on the 27th of July. On his departure he acknowledged the hospitality of Oberea the queen, by a variety of presents, among which were turkeys, a goose, a gander, and a cat, with many iron utensils, which in the eyes of the natives were of inconceivable value.

CHAPTER VII.

VISITS OF BOUGAINVILLE AND COOK TO OTAHEITE.

Visit of Bougainville—His Description of Otaheite—Affecting History—First Visit of Cook—His Reception at Owhyhee—Cook worshipped.

The next vessel that visited Otaheite was that of Bougainville, who reached the island on the 6th of April, 1768, and left it again on the 14th of the same month. Much intercourse obtained between the French and the natives, but nothing occurred that deserves to be recorded, although much took place over which, for the honour of civilized nations, a veil must be drawn. The highly gifted and imaginative Frenchman fully appreciated the natural beauties of the celebrated isle. Of his first impressions he thus speaks:—"The aspect of the coast was very pleasing. The mountains rose to a great height, yet there was no appearance of barrenness; all parts were covered with woods. We could scarcely believe our eyes when we beheld a peak clothed with trees, even to its solitary summit, which rose to the level of the mountains in the interior part of the isle. Its breadth grew gradually less towards the top, and at a distance it might have been taken for some pyramid of a vast height, which the hand of a tasteful decorator had enwreathed with garlands of foliage. As we sailed along the coast, our eyes were struck with the sight of a beautiful cascade, which precipitated itself from the mountain tops, and threw its foaming waters into the sea. A village was situated at the foot of the waterfall, and there appeared to be no breakers on the shore."* On walking through the island his delight was much increased. He says,—"I thought I was transported into the garden of Eden; we crossed grassy plains, covered with fair fruit trees, and

* Voyage, pp. 187, 188.

watered by small rivulets, which diffused a delicious coolness around. Under the shade of the groves lay groups of the natives, all of whom gave us a friendly salutation; those whom we met in the paths stood aside that we might pass; and everywhere we beheld hospitality, peace, calm, joy, and all signs of happiness." Such was an infidel Frenchman's estimate of Otaheite! This is another example of the importance of the precept—"Judge not according to appearances, but judge righteous judgment."

A circumstance of a touching character at this time took place at Otaheite. While Bougainville was among the Grand Cyclades, from the figure, voice, and beardless face of a youth named Baré, suspicions began to be entertained on the subject of sex. The commodore resolving to have the point cleared up, called Baré before him, and inquired into the report, when the ingenuous youth, with a flood of tears, confessed the fact to be as had been suspected; and related the events of her history with that beautiful simplicity, which is the invariable characteristic of truth. Born in Burgundy, of parents in opulent circumstances, she was left an orphan; and a law-suit, which followed, issued in the entire ruin of her fortune. On the close of this sore calamity, she resolved to lay aside the habit of her sex, and entered into the service of a gentleman at Paris; but, hearing of Bougainville's intended expedition round the world, she felt an irresistible desire to join it, and, repairing to Rochfort just before the sailing of the vessels, she engaged as a servant to accompany M. de Commerson, the naturalist. In that capacity she acquitted herself to admiration. She followed her master with extreme fidelity, and with astonishing courage and resolution, amid ice and snow, and all the horrors of an intense winter in a frozen clime, up the mountain sides, to their hoary tops, bearing loads of plants, herbs, arms, and provisions, with alacrity and pleasure. While the ship was at Otaheite, the adventurous lady went on shore with others of the company, when the natives flocking around them immediately fixed their eyes upon her and exclaimed, "This is a woman!" and were about to treat her rudely, when one of the French officers rescued her from their hands, and

ordered her to be conducted in safety to the ship. The commodore truly observes, that this was the first woman who circumnavigated the globe; and it is stated, that her purity of morals, amid all the profligacy which she was occasionally doomed to witness, was equalled only by her extraordinary courage.

The next European visitor to Otaheite was the immortal Cook, who anchored in the bay of Matavai, on April 13, 1769. His object was to observe the approaching transit of Venus over the disc of the sun, and afterwards to renew the search—set on foot by Quiros during the previous century, and prosecuted by Byron, Wallis, and Carteret in that century—for a continent supposed to exist in the bosom of the Southern Pacific Ocean. Having observed the transit, he put to sea, and discovered the islands of Tethuroa, Huaheine, Ulietea, Otaha, Tubai, Bolabola, Maurua, and Oheteroa, Cook's Straits, and New South Wales; and on the 12th of June, 1771, he arrived in England. On July the 13th, 1772, he set out upon his second voyage of circumnavigation, when he revisited Otaheite, rediscovered the Friendly Islands, New Caledonia, New South Georgia, and Sandwich Land; and on July the 30th, 1775, he returned to Spithead, after an absence of three years and eighteen days. Cook proceeded on his third voyage on July the 12th, 1776; and, reaching the South Sea, he once more visited Otaheite, and some of its neighbouring isles. On this occasion he discovered the Sandwich Archipelago, and mournfully finished his brilliant career on February the 14th, 1779, at Owhyhee or Hawaii, one of the Sandwich Islands.

The island, which the destruction of the great English captain has rendered famous through all time, was discovered by him on November 30, 1778. His reception on entering the bay of Karakaooa was very remarkable. His papers state, that he had nowhere seen so numerous a body of people assembled at one place; the ships were covered with natives; immense throngs continued to come off in canoes; hundreds and hundreds more were swimming around the squadron, "like shoals of fish;" and the shores of the bay were densely lined with wondering spectators. A tradition had existed

from time immemorial, that, in the golden age of their history, their god, *Rono*, was constrained by crime and its consequent misery to take his departure to a distant land; and that, when so departing, he gave a promise that he would one day return on a floating island furnished with everything necessary to the greatness and happiness of man. From age to age his return was eagerly looked for. The arrival of Cook was viewed and hailed as the fulfilment of the promise; the islanders considered him to be their god *Rono*, and his ships the floating island. Assuming the divinity of the mysterious visitant, they proceeded to do him what they deemed appropriate honours. They worshipped him! On the mooring of the Resolution, two chiefs came on board with Koah, a priest, who approached Cook with much veneration, threw a piece of red cloth over his shoulders, and then retiring a small distance, made an offering of a pig, which he accompanied with a long oration. After this, the priest sat down to table with his assumed god, and freely partook of the repast before him; and in the evening Cook, Captain King, and Mr. Bayly went with Koah on shore. A strange scene now occurred. They were met and preceded by four men, holding wands tipped with dogs' hair, who shouted, as they marched, certain words, among which *Rono* or *Orono* was very distinctly heard. The captain was now conducted to a morai, formed as usual of stones, about fourteen yards high, twenty broad, and forty long. The summit of this dismal erection was well paved, and surrounded by a rail to which were attached several skulls. In the centre stood an old wooden building; at one side five poles upwards of twenty feet in height, supported a platform or scaffold; and on the other side stood two small houses, with a covered passage between them. To this spot the captain, with his two friends, was led, and there they saw two huge idols with horrid features; and there Kaireekeea, a priest, presented Cook to the "dumb idols," and, assisted by Koah, having first chanted a hymn, he then led him to that part of the morai where the poles were fixed. Under these stood twelve idols, arranged in the form of a crescent, with a high table in the centre, on which lay the banquet of the gods, con-

sisting of a putrid hog, pieces of sugar-cane, cocoa-nuts, and various kinds of fruit. The priest having placed the captain under this stand, took down the putrid carcass of the hog, and holding it out to him, delivered a long address with great fervour and rapidity, after which he dropped the loathsome burden, and led Cook to the precarious scaffold, which, at considerable peril, both ascended. A solemn procession of ten men now advanced bearing a live hog, and a quantity of red cloth; and on arriving within a few paces, after prostration, they delivered the latter to Kaireekeea, who carried it to Koah, and the latter, having wrapped it round the captain, offered him the hog, which was brought with like ceremony. A hymn or song was then sung, probably to the captain, who remained on the scaffold rolled in the red cloth. The song being ended, the priest threw down the hog, and, descending with the captain, led him before the images, each of which he addressed, apparently in a tone of contempt, snapping his fingers as he went along, till he came in front of the centre idol, when he fell prostrate and kissed the abomination, desiring the captain to do the same—a desire with which he unhappily complied; for we are informed that "Cook suffered himself to be directed by Koah throughout the whole of this ceremony." The captain was next conducted to another department of the morai, and seated between two idols, Koah the priest supporting one of his arms, and Captain King, by the priest's desire, the other. Thus seated between two stocks, as the living god of the island idolatry, another procession approached him, bearing a baked pig, with bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts. Kaireekeea presented him with the pig, and again began to chant, while his companions made regular responses, in which the word *Orono* was frequently uttered. When the ritual was finished, the natives, sitting down in front of the strangers, proceeded to cut up the hog, to peel the vegetables, and to prepare Ava. All being ready, the feast began, when the priest and an assistant chief proceeded to feed the captain and his companions. Captain King, whose feeder was a cleanly person, got on tolerably well; but Cook, who was fed by Koah, whose hands were so lately employed in holding the putrid

hog, could not taste a morsel offered him. Nor was his loathing to be wondered at, when, in addition to the touch of his polluted hands, the old man also chewed it for him.*

Thus terminated this melancholy exhibition, in which it is grievous to find Cook placed in such circumstances, and occupying a position so equivocal, or rather so abominable. It is clear that he knew, and could know, nothing of the tradition of *Orono;* it is also said that, when divine honours were paid him, he was unconscious of their true intent.† Would that we had satisfactory evidence that such was the fact! But, in passing through such a scene, is it possible that it could escape the unrivalled penetration of the great navigator, that he was in some degree the object of adoration? Besides, Captain King declares that, during the rest of the time they remained in the bay, whenever Captain Cook went on shore, "he was attended by one of these priests, who went before him, giving notice that the *Orono* had landed, and ordering the people to prostrate themselves." But this is a theme, the investigation of which is painful; we therefore leave it to contemplate a scene of dire contrast, wherein his worshippers imbrued their hands in his blood.

* Voyage, vol. iii. p. 8.

† Edin. Cab. Lib. vol. xxi. p. 448.

CHAPTER VIII.

DEATH OF CAPTAIN COOK, AND SUMMARY OF HIS DISCOVERIES.

Remarkable Change—A Fatal Theft—Stratagem to seize the King—Disappointment—The effect of a Phrase exemplified—Fatal Shot—General Engagement—Death of Cook—Recovery of the Body.

On the 4th of February, the squadron left Karakaooa bay and put to sea; but the springing of the mast of the "Resolution" induced them to return, and on the 11th they came to moorings in their former station. The aspect of things was now much altered; few of the multitudes who had formerly thronged the beach were now to be seen, and such as were present were unaccountably cold, or rather somewhat hostile. The seamen who went on shore to fill some water-casks, were surrounded by bands of the natives, armed with stones, and acting in a tumultuous manner—a course in which their chiefs silently concurred. Captain King, being apprized of the true state of the case, hastened to the spot, attended by a marine with his musket: they then threw away their stones and were sullenly quiet, suffering the casks to be filled without further molestation. King next went to meet Cook, who was proceeding towards shore in his pinnace, and informed him of the occurrence which had taken place; when the commander gave orders, in the event of any attack by the natives, to fire on them with ball. In a short time they were alarmed by a continued fire of muskets from the "Discovery," at a canoe which was paddling with all speed towards the shore, and pursued by one of the boats. Cook, concluding that, as usual, some theft had been committed, ordered Captain King to follow him with an armed marine, that they might seize the delinquents on landing. The culprits, however, escaped into the interior, and Cook, with an eagerness which derogated from his dignity, in vain pursued them several miles. In the mean

while the articles were recovered; but the officer in the small boat, not satisfied with this, wantonly seized the canoe occupied by the offender, which Parcea, a principal chief, claimed as his property. The officer refused to give it up, and a scuffle ensued, in which Parcea, a worthy native, was brutally knocked down by a blow with an oar. The natives collected about the spot, and many, who had hitherto been peaceable spectators, immediately assailed the seamen with a shower of stones, and compelled them to flee with the utmost precipitation, and to swim to a rock at some distance from the shore. The pinnace was immediately ransacked by the victorious natives, and but for the interposition of the honest Parcea, who had recovered from the cruel blow, it would have been speedily demolished. This worthy chief, who deserved very different treatment, made signs to the seamen to return and possess their boat, and while they did so, he showed them other tokens of kindness. These occurrences of evil omen took place on the 13th; at early dawn on the 14th, which was Sunday, happened another event, that conducts us to the sad catastrophe. The six-oared cutter of the "Discovery" was missing. Although under the immediate eye of the watch, it had been loosened and removed without observation. Cook determined to recover her by the usual means; for it had been his custom in other islands to get the king, or some of the principal chiefs, on board, and to keep them as hostages till the objects lost were restored—a plan which had been always attended with success. Between seven and eight o'clock, Cook, in the pinnace, having Lieutenant Phillips, a sergeant, two corporals, and six marines with him, and Captain King in the small boat, went on shore. He instructed King to sooth the natives by assurances that they should not be hurt, to keep his own people together, and to be on his guard. Cook then proceeded to the house of the king, with whom he conversed about the loss of the cutter, and was soon convinced that the sovereign was in no wise privy to it. He then invited the sovereign to spend the day on board the "Resolution"—a proposal to which he frankly and immediately consented. Meanwhile, a most untoward accident occurred near the

harbour, where some boats with armed men had been placed in case of need. Observing a large canoe endeavouring to leave the bay, the people in the boats fired several muskets over their heads to prevent their escape. One of the bullets unfortunately killed a chief on the shore. Two islanders, in consequence, went immediately on board to complain to the captain; and, finding that he had gone to Kowrowa to the king, thither they followed him. Cook, Terreeoboo the king, and his two sons, had now reached the water's edge: the young princes had entered the pinnace, and their royal parent was just about to follow, when Kanee-Kabareea, the mother of the youths, and one of the king's favourite wives, hastened after him, and, throwing her arms about his neck, with many tears and much entreaty implored him to go no further. To her entreaties was added the physical force of two chiefs, who, laying hold of him, insisted that he should not advance another step, and compelled him to sit down, foretelling that if he entered the ship he would perish there. At this moment the natives were collecting in prodigious numbers along the shore, and, equipped with their war-mats, spears, clubs, and daggers, they began to throng around their king, becoming every moment more tumultuous. Koah, the wily priest, was seen lurking near, having an iron dagger partly concealed under his raiment, with the apparent intention of stabbing Cook or Phillips. The lieutenant proposed to fire at him, but Cook forbade it. The savage, however, pressed still closer, till the officer struck him with his piece, on which he retired. Another native seized the sergeant's musket, and attempted to wrench it from his grasp, till a blow from Lieutenant Phillips compelled him to resign his hold. The old king remained on the beach with the strongest marks of terror and dejection, Cook continuing to urge him on board, till at length the chiefs advanced from prayers and entreaties to threats and violence, and resolutely determined that nothing but superior force should transfer him to the ship.

Cook, seeing the plan could not succeed without bloodshed, desisted; the king was accordingly taken away, and Cook, with Phillips, walked towards the beach. The power

of a single phrase, or a single word, has often been awfully exemplified in the history of civil and military conflict. That dreadful day supplied a lamentable illustration of this fact. When quiet seemed restored, and parties separated, a native from the opposite shore of the bay, in a state of deep excitement, rushed into the crowd, and cried out, "It is war! The foreigners have commenced hostilities—have fired on a canoe from one of their boats, and killed a chief!" The effect was electrical. With the instant explosion of eager rage, of unbridled fury, always distinctive of savages, they rapidly made ready for the combat. The women and children disappeared in a moment; and the men not already armed ran for their war-mats, stones, and spears. One of the natives, armed with a stone and a long iron spike, approached the captain, flourishing his weapon, and threatening to cast the stone at him. Cook called on him to desist and retire, but the savage drew nearer, which led the captain, in an evil hour, to fire at him a musket loaded with small shot. The brave islander received the whole contents on his thick war-mat, which the shot was unable to penetrate, and which he, with equal wit and policy, held up derisively in the sight of his countrymen, and cried out, "*Matteemanoo!*"—the gun is only fit to kill birds—and raised and balanced his spear as if to dart it into the breast of his assailant. The captain, unwilling to take away his life by firing ball, knocked him down with the butt-end of his piece.

Here the matter would have ended with the English, the captain's only object being to save his men. He, therefore, merely remonstrated with the islanders on their violence; and they replied by a shower of stones. A native was observed in the act of hurling a spear at him, when he fired his second barrel loaded with ball, but missing his aim, killed another person near the aggressor. This fatal shot was the signal for a general engagement. The natives poured in a shower of stones, blended with a counter shower of bullets from the musketry of the marines, followed by that of the people in the boats. This marred all. The commander at once perceived the fatality of the measure, and looking

towards the boats, he waved his hand, while he vehemently called on them to desist from firing, and draw near to receive the marines. The pinnace approached, but the other boat, from the noise of the waves on the rocks and the clamour of the multitude, misunderstood the signal, and drew farther off. Thus everything was adverse, and the crisis immediately came on. The islanders on that awful day displayed new features of character. They stood the fire almost with the firmness and bravery of veteran troops. They shrunk back for a moment at first, but they advanced before the marines had time to reload, and at once, with terrific yells and horrid vociferations, they rushed in upon them like a tempest, bearing them down and driving them into the ocean. Four of the marines were butchered among the rocks in their retreat, and three more were dangerously wounded. Cook, who unaccountably lingered behind, was now seen walking towards the boats, carrying his musket in one hand, and placing the other on the back of his head to cover it from the stones showered by the natives. On arriving at the water's edge, he turned round to give orders to the boats, when a native, who had followed him with timidity and caution, struck him on the back of the head, and immediately fled. The blow stunned him, and, tottering a short way, he fell on his hand and knee ; his musket dropped, and a great shout arose from the assembled islanders. While attempting to rise, he was stabbed in the back of the neck with an iron spike, when he once more fell into a pool among the shelves. The savages immediately surrounded him in crowds, and endeavoured to keep him under water. Roused by the anguish of despair to more than mortal efforts, he succeeded in raising his head, when he turned his eyes towards the pinnace, as if imploring the assistance which it was then impossible to afford him. Though again immersed in the water deeper than before, by the energies of a death-struggle, he was once more enabled to lift up his head, when he grasped a rock for support. At that moment a savage smote him with a club, when he fell to rise no more. The barbarians then dragged his body from the water, and were observed to snatch the daggers from each other's hands

in order to pierce the corpse. So eager were they about this inhuman outrage, that it continued for some time, although a fire from the boats was directed against them, by which several fell beside their victim.*

Captain King, on the afternoon of the day, received a promise from some chiefs that the commander's body should be restored on the morrow, a promise, nevertheless, which was not kept. Late, however, on the evening of the 15th, a native, who had always shown attention to Captain Cook when on shore, came off to the ship, and presented to King a piece of human flesh, of about ten pounds weight, alleging that this was the whole remains of the victim, that the rest had been burned, and that the head and all the bones, those of the trunk excepted, were in the possession of the king and chiefs. This respectful savage, previous to his departure, anxiously inquired, "When *Orono* would come again?" and "What he would do to them on his return?" Such questions were frequently repeated by others. The subject of Cook's deity was strongly agitated; many still thought that he was their ancient God, and would yet again appear among them; but some of the more sagacious, when they heard his dying groans, and saw his flowing blood, exclaimed, "This is not *Rono!*" In the course of the 20th, most of his remains were surrendered to Captain King, wrapped in fine cloth. The hands were entire, and easily identified from a remarkable scar on one of them; the scalp was separated from the skull, and the bones that form the face were wanting; neither were the feet found. The ligaments of the joints were complete, and the whole had evidently been in the fire, except the hands, which were cut in several places and much salted, as if it had been intended to preserve them. The scalp had a cut on the back part of it; but the skull was free from any fracture. The lower jaw-bone and the feet were obtained on the morning of the 21st; and on the afternoon of that sorrowful day, the whole were put in a coffin, and in the usual manner committed to the ocean. Part of the bones retained by the natives were held sacred, as those of the god

* See Edin. Cab. Lib. vol. xxi. p. 465; Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. p. 132; Mariner's Tonga Islands, vol. ii. pp. 74, 75.

Rono, and deposited in his temple. They were preserved in a basket of wicker-work, covered with red feathers; religious homage was paid to them, and they were annually borne in procession through the island by the votaries of *Rono* when soliciting voluntary contributions for the support of his worship. These relics maintained their place among the objects of island adoration through a space of forty years, that is, until 1819, the happy era when idolatry was subverted by the omnipotence of the glorious gospel of the Son of God.*

Thus terminated the course of Captain Cook, the most illustrious seaman of modern times, a man whom all civilized nations delight to honour, and whose name will be dear to science so long as earth and ocean, men and manners, continue to be the objects of science, and the subjects of inquiry among mankind. No seaman has ever contributed so much to extend the knowledge of our world.—The question of a southern continent, which had occupied the thoughts of seven generations, was determined by his toils. The eastern coast of New Holland, presenting a line of two thousand miles, and beset with dangers, was first explored by him. "He ascertained the northern limit of Australia, and restored to Europeans the knowledge of the long lost Straits of Torres. He dissipated the belief that New Zealand was a part of the Terra Australis Incognita, brought to light its eastern boundary, previously unknown, and circumnavigated its shores. He completed the labours of Quiros and later voyagers in the Archipelago of the New Hebrides, and first delineated an accurate chart of their coasts. He discovered New Caledonia, with one exception the largest island in the Austral Ocean. He investigated the depths of the Southern Atlantic, made us acquainted with Sandwich Land, fixed the position of Kerguelen's Island, visited the almost-forgotten Isla Grande of La Roche, and surveyed the southern shores of Tierra del Fuego, with a fidelity at that time unprecedented. During this navigation he twice crossed the antarctic circle, and attained a higher latitude than had been

* See Voyage, vol. iii. p. 80; Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. pp. 133, 137; Mariner, vol. ii. p. 73.

reached by any former voyager. He explored the Tonga Archipelago, and that of Las Marquesas, neither of which had been visited since the days of Tasman and Mendana, and added greatly to our knowledge of their situation and productions, their inhabitants, manners, and customs. Easter, or Edward Davis's Island, which had been sought in vain by Byron, Wallis, Carteret, and Bougainville, did not elude his researches. He greatly increased our acquaintance with the Low, or Coral Archipelago, and completed the discovery of the Society Islands. In other parts of the South Sea he brought to light the islands of Norfolk, Botany, Pines, Palmerston, Savage, Hervey, Mangeea, Watteeoo, Otakootaia, Turtle, Toobouai, and Christmas. Along the north-west coast of America, he effected more in one season than the Spaniards had accomplished in two centuries. Besides rectifying many mistakes of former explorers, he ascertained the breadth of the strait which separates Asia from the New World, a point which Behring had left unsettled. Passing the arctic, as he had crossed the antarctic circle, he penetrated farther than any preceding navigator; and, as more than half a century expired without a nearer approach being made to the southern pole than he had achieved, a like period elapsed before our knowledge of the American coast was extended beyond the point to which he attained. Among the latest and greatest of his discoveries were the Sandwich Islands, which, in the sentence wherewith his journal abruptly terminates, he truly characterizes as, "though the last, in many respects the most important that has hitherto been made by Europeans, throughout the extent of the Pacific Ocean."*

Another excellence of the highest order in which Cook excelled all his predecessors, and which has exacted the admiring homage of posterity, is the unparalleled accuracy with which he has delineated the figure and bearing of the coasts of new countries, and fixed their position. This fact is frankly confessed by the first navigators of modern times. Even this, however, is not his highest praise; he was as successful in his moral as in his natural delineations, although

* Edin. Cab. Lib., vol. xxi. p. 483; Voyage, vol. ii. p. 548.

the former exercise is much more difficult than the latter, and depends for success on a very different and a superior class of powers, as well as opportunities of ascertaining facts and acquiring knowledge. This truth is attested by the very highest authority—that of the eminent author of the Polynesian Researches, the Rev. W. Ellis, himself a great master in moral painting—who thus writes: "A residence of eight years in the Society and Sandwich Islands, has afforded me an opportunity of becoming familiar with many of the scenes and usages described in his voyages; and I have often been struck with the fidelity with which they are uniformly portrayed. In the inferences he draws, and the reasons he assigns, he is sometimes mistaken; but in the description of what he saw and heard there is throughout a degree of accuracy seldom if ever exceeded in accounts equally minute and extended."* The still more recent testimony of a most honourable and highly competent witness, Captain Waldegrave, bears out the same fact. This gentleman, who visited the Friendly Archipelago in the year 1830, says, "In our tour through these islands, we had great reason to admire the general accuracy of Captain Cook; his description of the houses, fences, manners, of the Hapai Islands is correct to the present day."†

* Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. p. 3. See also

† Journ. of the Roy. Geog. Soc., vol. iii. p. 186.

CHAPTER IX.

MUTINY OF THE BOUNTY, HARDSHIPS OF CAPTAIN BLIGH, AND THE SETTLEMENT IN PITCAIRN'S ISLAND.

King George's Presents to Pomarre—Bread-fruit Tree—Mutiny—Fletcher Christian—Seizure of Captain Bligh—Awful Answer to a Question—Motives of the Mutineers—Marvellous Voyage—Falsehood and Plunder—Bloody Bay—Dispersion of the Conspirators—Settlement of Christian—The Briton's Arrival at Pitcairn's Island—Interesting Dialogue—Breakfast Table—Visit on Shore—Affecting Circumstances—Mutineers at Otaheite—Arrival of the Pandora—Apprehension of the Mutineers—Scenes of Distress—Wreck of the Pandora—Fate of the Mutineers—Subsequent Visitors—Arrival of the Duff.

After the death of Captain Cook, nearly eleven years passed away without any intercourse between Europe and Otaheite; but at length Captain Watts, of the Lady Penryn, during the summer of 1788, touched there on her way to China. Pomarre, the ruler, complained greatly of the lengthened absence of the English, and of the brevity of the present stay, which was only to be a fortnight. To Watts, succeeded Captain Bligh, of the Bounty, a ship commissioned by the sovereign of England in order to transfer the bread-fruit tree from Otaheite to the British West India Islands. Bligh made very handsome presents from his royal master to Pomarre, informing him that the most acceptable return would be a large quantity of the young bread-fruit plants, a demand which was promptly agreed to. Nearly eight hundred pots of such plants were then taken on board, and upwards of one thousand plants were afterwards added; but the somewhat prolonged period devoted to the collection of them was attended with the desertion of several of the seamen.

The Bounty was unmoored April the 4th, 1789, after remaining at Otaheite nearly six months; and Captain Bligh was proceeding on his way, anticipating a safe arrival in the West Indies, when, on the 26th, a most unlooked for

mutiny broke forth, which blasted every prospect, and, sooner or later, involved all on both sides in the utmost affliction. The leading conspirator was Fletcher Christian, first lieutenant, a young man of respectable connexions, talents, and attainments, to whom Captain Bligh had uniformly manifested kindness, and shown substantial favour. Owing to the light winds, they had not yet got fully clear of the islands; and, the watch being set for the night, the captain retired to rest, to be awoke in a very unwonted manner. Just before the morning light, Christian, who had the command of the watch, with the master at arms, the gunner's mate, and a seaman, entered the captain's cabin, and, seizing him, bound his hands behind his back, threatening him with instant death on the slightest noise or resistance. Fearless, however, of the ruffian menace, he endeavoured to alarm the officers and crew; but care had been taken to secure or confine all who could not be relied on. The captain, in a state of undress, was instantly dragged on deck, and, on his demanding the cause of the revolt, he was answered by threats of murder. Meantime one of the boats was hoisted out, and all that were true to their king and captain were imperiously ordered into it. They were allowed a quadrant, a compass, some tools, a few trifles, and a small quantity of provision. At this awful moment Captain Bligh, displaying the boldness of a lion, in spite of their rage, did all that was practicable, to reduce the mutineers to a sense of duty. But to reason they opposed passion, and forced the commander overboard into the boat. At that instant Christian was asked, if this was a meet return for the kindness he had received; the unhappy man, stung by remorse, yet madly cleaving to his cruel purpose, exclaimed in reply, "That, Captain Bligh! that is the thing! I am in hell! I am in hell!" Such was the price that Christian paid for the prospective gratification of his passions. It is now certain beyond a doubt that the chief if not the sole temptation to revolt, was the sensual pleasures of Otaheite; no grievance was stated; no complaint was alleged; and no suspicion of the treasonable project was ever entertained till the afflictive morning, when the flames of

insubordination and rebellion broke out in ungovernable fury. The conduct of the captain, however, as will ultimately appear, had not, in all points, been such as became his office, character, and station.

A course of trial and suffering now commenced, which will always be entitled to a foremost place in the annals of maritime distress, and which will ever stand forth as a striking illustration of the exalted personal and professional qualities of the true English seaman. The stock of provisions allowed by the mutineers, was not sufficient for more than five or six days of full allowance. Measures, therefore, such as the exigency demanded, were immediately taken; every man readily consented to live on an ounce of bread a day, and a quarter of a pint of water. The captain then bore away across an ocean but little known, in a small boat only twenty-three feet long, deeply loaded with eighteen men, without any chart to guide him, and no assistance save a general recollection of places, and a book of longitudes and latitudes. In this state they ploughed the mighty deep, through frequent tempests and appalling difficulties, to the all but incredible extent of three thousand six hundred and eighteen miles, during a space of forty-one days! They at length reached *Timor*, a Dutch settlement, where they were cordially received, and most humanely treated; and, on the 1st of October, they landed at Batavia. Of the officers and men left at Batavia, two died, and the surgeon never returned; one did not live to reach Europe; but of nineteen, twelve revisited their native land. The captain arrived in England on the 11th of March, 1790.

Christian, with his twenty-four mutineers, conscious of the enormity of the crime of which he had been the main perpetrator, deemed it prudent, as much as possible, to keep out of the way of visits from European vessels. He therefore stood for Toobouai, a small island ninety leagues to the southward of Otaheite; but, finding it destitute of animal provisions, he steered for Otaheite to procure stock for the intended settlement, and on the 6th of June anchored at Matavai. Knowing the repute in which Captain Cook, whose decease was not yet known to the natives, was held

among them, the unprincipled conspirator declared that Cook had met him, and had sent him back for all the live stock that could be spared, in order to form a settlement at an island which Captain Bligh had discovered in his course toward the Friendly Isles. The Otaheiteans believed the fiction, and honourably vied who should furnish most for the service of the venerated Cook. After receiving a vast supply, the Bounty sailed, having on board eleven female Otaheiteans, and it was soon found that thirteen native men also had concealed themselves in the ship. On reaching Toobouai, the mutineers landed, built a fort, and took their live stock on shore. Their profligacy, however, soon led to quarrels with the natives, which ended in much bloodshed. Through the use of fire-arms, and the aid of the Otaheiteans, the mutineers were victorious over the innocent islanders, whose dead bodies covered the ground, and were afterwards thrown up in several heaps. The fatal spot was appropriately designated *Bloody Bay!* After this they abandoned their fort, shipped their live stock, and, weighing anchor, sailed for Otaheite, to which the majority desired to be conducted. During the voyage, Christian appeared to be the subject of much mental disquietude; his fearful condition now presented itself to his mind in all the magnitude of its guilt and danger. He confined himself to his cabin, and as much as possible declined all personal intercourse. On reaching Otaheite, such as wished to settle there, sixteen in number, landed, but nine of the mutineers and nineteen* of the islanders, men, women, and children, remained on board, with whom Christian and his men, cutting the cable in the night, set sail; and for nearly twenty years no further intelligence of them was heard. By his prudent foresight, Christian eluded the justice of his country only to perpetrate more evil, and to fall by the hand of an assassin. It was long afterwards discovered, that he and his people had steered for Pitcairn's Island, and there taken up their

* "Two men from Toobouai, one from Raiatea, two men, one boy, twelve women, part very young, and an infant girl from Taheite. The last and six of the women were living at Pitcairn's Isle in 1819, and one had returned to Taheite, two women had died, and three suffered by casualties."—Greatheed's MS. Notes.

abode. In this spot they continued for many years, in a state of safety and seclusion from all mankind. Captain Folgier, an American navigator, was the first to touch at this place in the year 1808; but it was reserved for Sir Thomas Staines, captain of his majesty's ship Briton, to elicit the interesting facts of the history of the fugitives, and to ascertain the true condition of their descendants.

On September 2, 1814, the crew of the "Briton" first saw Pitcairn's Island. Some canoes came off, and, on drawing near the vessel, to the astonishment of all on board, they hailed her in perfect English. On boarding the vessel, conversation immediately commenced, by one of them named Mackay, after respectful salutation, asking a question: "Do you know," said he, "one William Bligh in England?" This strange question threw new light on the subject. One responded, "Do you know one Fletcher Christian?" "Oh yes," said he, with the utmost frankness, "very well; his son is in the boat there coming up: his name is Friday Fletcher October Christian. His father is dead now; he was shot by a black fellow." Several others had now reached the ship, and the scene became full of interest; a deep anxiety filled all breasts to know the fate of the mutineer captain, of whose end so many vague reports had been in circulation. The interesting dialogue thus proceeded:—

"Christian, you say, was shot?"

"Yes, he was."

"By whom?"

"A black fellow shot him."

"What cause do you assign for the murder?"

"I know no reason except a jealousy, which I have heard then existed between the people of Otaheite and the English: Christian was shot in the back, while at work in his yam plantation."

"What became of the man who killed him?"

"Oh! that black fellow was shot afterwards by an Englishman."

"Was there any other disturbance between the Otaheiteans and the English, after the death of Christian?"

"Yes; the black fellows rose, shot two Englishmen, and

wounded John Adams, who is now the only remaining man who came in the Bounty."

"How did Adams escape being murdered?"

"He hid himself in the wood, and the same night the women, enraged at the murder of the English, to whom they were more partial than their countrymen, rose and put every Otaheitean to death in their sleep. This saved Adams; his wounds were soon healed, and, although old, he now enjoys good health."

"How many men and women did Christian bring with him in the 'Bounty?'"

"Nine white men, six from Otaheite, and eleven women."

"And how many are there now in the island?"

"In all, we have forty-eight."

"Have you ever heard Adams say how long it is since he came to the island?"

"I have heard it is about twenty-five years ago."

"And what became of the Bounty?"

"After everything useful was taken out of her, she was run on shore, set fire to, and burnt."

"Have you ever heard how many years it is since Christian was shot?"

"I understand it was about two years after his arrival at the island."

"What became of Christian's wife?"

"She died soon after Christian's son was born; and I have heard that Christian took forcibly the wife of one of the black fellows to supply her place, and which was the chief cause of his being shot."

"Then Fletcher October Christian is the oldest on the island, except John Adams and the old women?"

"Yes; he is the first-born on the island."

"At what age do you marry?"

"Not before nineteen or twenty."

"Are you allowed to have more than one wife?"

"No; we can have but one, and it is wicked to have more."

"Have you been taught any religion?"

"Yes; a very good religion."

"In what do you believe?"

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c."*

"Who first taught you this Belief?"

"John Adams says it was first by Fletcher Christian's order, and that he likewise caused a prayer to be said every day at noon."

"And what is the prayer?"

"It is,—'I will arise and go to my father, and say unto him, Father, I have sinned against Heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy of being called thy son.'"

"Do you continue to say this every day?"

"Yes; we never neglect it."

"What language do you commonly speak?"

"Always English."

"But you understand the Otaheitean?"

"Yes; but not so well."

"Do the old women speak English?"

"Yes; but not so well as they understand it: their pronunciation is not good."

"What countrymen do you call yourselves?"

"Half English, half Otaheitean."

"Who is your king?"

"Why, King George, to be sure."

"Have you ever seen a ship before?"

"Yes; we have seen four from the island,† but only one stopped. Mayhew Folgier was the captain. I suppose you know him?"

"No, we do not know him. How long did he stay?"

"Two days."

"Should you like to go to England?"

"No; I cannot. I am married, and have a family."

This dialogue was terminated by a call to the breakfast table. The officers invited Mackay, Christian, and the rest, to sit down with them. A fresh display was now given of that beautiful and almost child-like simplicity which shone through the whole character of these unsophisticated island-

* He solemnly recited the whole of the Creed.

† Otaheite.

ers. Lieutenant Shillibeer candidly rehearses the facts and emotions of this interesting hour. "I must here confess," says he, "I blushed when I saw nature, in its most simple state, offer that tribute of respect to the Omnipotent Creator, which, from an education, I did not perform, nor, from society, had been taught its necessity. Ere they began to eat, on their knees, and with hands uplifted, did they implore permission to partake in peace what was set before them; and when they had eaten heartily, resuming their former attitude, offered a fervent prayer of thanksgiving for the indulgence they had just experienced. Our omission of this ceremony did not escape their notice, for Christian asked me whether it was not customary with us also. Here nature was triumphant, for I should do myself an irreparable injustice did I not with candour acknowledge I was both embarrassed and wholly at a loss for a sound reply, and evaded this poor fellow's question by drawing his attention to the cow, which was then looking down the hatchway; and, as he had never seen any of the species before, it was a source of mirth and gratification to him."

After this, two principal officers went on shore to see the village, and John Adams, who was a fine looking man of about sixty years of age. The captain, after much ingenuous and interesting conversation, during which Adams still spoke bitterly of Bligh, asked if he desired to return to England. He replied in the affirmative. The captain offered him, and such of his family as chose to accompany him, a passage home. He seemed pleased with the idea of visiting the land of his fathers' sepulchres, and immediately sent for his wife and children, who had not been present at the interview. To them, as also to the rest of the little community who surrounded the door, he communicated his desire, and solicited their acquiescence. All were struck dumb with surprise and alarm. His daughter, though deluged with grief, was the first to break the oppressive silence. "She was arrayed in nature's simplest garb, and wholly unadorned, but she was beauty's self, and needed not the aid of ornament." In an agony of emotion, she fixed her streaming eyes upon the captain, and said, "Oh! do not, sir, take

from me my father! Do not take my best, my dearest friend." Her speech here failed her; she could not utter another word; but leaning her head upon her hand she gave full vent to her overwhelming sorrow. His wife, too, an Otaheitean, was thrown into the deepest anguish. The rest of the community added to the lamentation. Not an eye was dry; the big tear dimmed those of the men, the women wept bitterly. A scene more affecting, or more replete with truth and interest, was never enacted in Polynesia. The captain assured them that he had no wish upon the subject, and that he only intended a favour. In the captain's heart the *conspirator* was forgotten in admiration of the *man*, whose virtues had succeeded to inspire so much love, and to place him at the head of the little mutineers' community, where he was revered by all, the bond of union, the administrator of justice, the teacher of elementary truth, and the priest of a patriarchal piety. He remained, accordingly, and the ship proceeded on her voyage.

The sixteen mutineers, who landed on Otaheite with their proportion of the property and arms, were hospitably received, and had lands assigned for their use in those districts which they preferred. The more industrious and mechanical part of them proceeded to build a schooner of considerable dimensions, a work in which the natives occasionally assisted to the extent of their ability. As might be expected, all who embarked in this arduous undertaking did not persevere till its completion. Churchill, who had been master at arms, and a principal conspirator, wearied of labour, accepted an invitation to live with Waheadooa, sovereign of Teiarraboo, the smaller peninsula of Otaheite, when Cook was last at that island. He was accompanied by Thompson, one of the most ignorant and brutal of the crew. Waheadooa shortly after died without an heir, and Churchill, having been his *tayo*, according to custom, succeeded to his property and dignity. Thompson was moved with envy; and, in revenge for some imaginary offences, he shot Churchill. The natives revenged the murder of their sovereign by putting Thompson to death. Others of the rebels took up their residence at Pappara with Temarre;

but the bulk of them remained under the influence of Pomarre, and they largely participated in the wars and politics of the natives. Much, indeed, necessarily depended on their skill, their schooner, and their fire-arms; and it lay with them, in no small measure, not only to decide the fate of battles, but to preserve or disturb the peace of the island, and to determine the destiny of parties.

The influence, enjoyments, and glory of the mutineers, however, was soon at an end. The dreadful day of retribution drew near; and on March 23, 1791, the Pandora frigate, commanded by Captain Edwards, arrived at Otaheite, and anchored in Matavai bay. This vessel was sent forth expressly to apprehend, if possible, the whole body of the mutineers, and to bring them to England for trial at the bar of their country's justice. The mutineers who remained at Matavai, not knowing the vessel or her object, and fearing no evil, went on board the same day, and were immediately put into confinement. Lieutenants Corner and Hayward, the latter of whom had sailed in the Bounty, and accompanied Captain Bligh during his memorable voyage already recorded, to Batavia, were despatched, with two of the Pandora's boats, in pursuit of the schooner which had been built by the mutineers, lest by her means they should escape. The schooner, which had been sailing, was hardly anchored at Pappara, when a native messenger arrived to apprize them of the fate of their comrades at Matavai and of their own danger. On learning these facts they immediately put to sea, taking with them three of their companions who lived at Pappara, and leaving behind only one of their party. The seaman thus left, apparently sick of savage life, and a burdened conscience, walked all night toward Matavai, and, going on board, nobly surrendered himself next day. The schooner, after standing out several days, on the 27th returned to Pappara. Six of the mutineers fled to the hills for refuge; the other three were kept in confinement that night and the next day, by order of Temarre, who likewise seized the schooner. On the night of the 28th, however, they escaped to the western coast, and about day-break surrendered themselves to Lieutenant

Corner, who had come from the ship the preceding day in pursuit of them. An active search was then commenced for those who had fled to the mountains; but in the course of the day they delivered themselves up to Lieutenant Hayward. Pomarre readily co-operated with the British officers in their efforts for securing the mutineers, and did what he could to prevent the bad consequences likely to arise from the resentment of those families with which they had become connected. The scenes which succeeded the apprehension of the unhappy men were in some instances heart-rending. One case strongly serves to illustrate the truth and power of female attachment even in the savage bosom. A midshipman, named Stewart, who had signalized himself greatly by his activity and resolute ferocity in the mutiny, had lived with the daughter of a person of property at Matavai. The removal and imprisonment of Stewart, to whom she had borne a child, according to report, so wrung her tender heart as speedily to carry her to an untimely grave.* One son and three daughters were left by others of the mutineers. While the unhappy men were in chains, and doomed to endure the affliction of the daily interviews which took place between them and the native females, with whom they had lived, their countrymen were, as usual, running to excess in riot and debauchery; and, while giving to the islanders a sublime and awful example of the majesty of British law, they were acting a part which reflected no honour on the purity of British morals.

On May the 8th the vessel sailed, accompanied by the schooner which the mutineers had built, under the command of an officer of the Pandora. Dismal was now the state of the conspirators, as they were wafted in irons over the lonely ocean; and more awful still were their prospects on reaching their native country; but calamities unseen, and terrible likewise, awaited them by the way. The Pandora was wrecked on her return, and four of the mutineers perished in the fearful catastrophe.† The rest were rescued

* "Stewart was drowned when the Pandora was wrecked in Endeavour Straits, but the death of his widow has been contradicted."—Greatheed's MS. Notes.

† "The three men who were drowned with Stewart were active in the

from a watery grave, and brought to trial in England. Four were acquitted as having had no active concern in the mutiny, and mostly provided for in Greenwich Hospital. Another was discharged on the ground of some legal technicality. The mercy of the Crown was extended to two of them, and three were executed at Spithead.

These poor misguided mariners were honoured to promote, in no ordinary measure, the cause of the first mission to the South Seas. They supplied a vast amount of important information concerning the people and the place, from which a portion of the Preliminary Discourse, and also the Appendix to the First Missionary Voyage, were extracted and prepared. Nor was this all; they also furnished a vocabulary of the language of Otaheite, which the first missionaries made their study on the voyage, and from which they derived invaluable benefit.* In connexion with the future evangelization of the islands of the South Sea, therefore, the mutiny of the Bounty was one of those events in Providence, which plainly indicate the finger of God.

At the close of this year Captain Vancouver, of the Dis-

mutiny. Two of them are said to have defended themselves with fire-arms, after the other four surrendered to Lieutenant Hayward, but to have been watched by the islanders till their strength was exhausted, and then seized while asleep. It is very difficult to harmonize the account given by Lieutenant Corner to Dr. Haweis with the written narrative of Morrison. For a different adjustment, see 'The Sailor's Magazine' for January, 1821."—Greatheed's MS. Notes.

* The following note sets the matter in the clearest light.—"The Duff being so long detained at Spithead, afforded the opportunity to obtain from the Rev. Mr. Howell, who had attended the mutineers of the Bounty (in confinement) very valuable papers which, at his instance, one of them, named Morrison, had drawn up, comprising a narrative of their transactions at Taheite, of which an abridgement is given in the Preliminary Discourse; a copious Vocabulary of the Language; and a description of the island, from which the following account (the Appendix) was extracted by Dr. Haweis, with little alteration but what he judged proper, in order to adapt it to this publication. Morrison, who was the best informed and most ingenious of the mutineers, received a full pardon, after long confinement under sentence of death, with three others. Mr. Howell had proposed publishing his papers, but suppressed them on condition that Morrison should be provided for by Government; and he was accordingly appointed to act as a gunner in the navy, the publication being deemed objectionable, as it would have reflected some discredit on Captain Bligh. The missionaries were furnished with a copy of the Vocabulary, and an abridgement of the narrative of the mutineers."—Ibid.

covery, and Lieutenant Broughton, of the Chatham, arrived at Otaheite. Nothing particular occurred during their stay, and they sailed January the 24th, 1792. The next visitant was Captain Weatherhead, of the Matilda, a merchantman, who arrived a week or two after, and staid a fortnight. Having put to sea again, on February the 25th the Matilda was wrecked, but the captain and crew escaped in their boats to Otaheite, where they were immediately plundered of all they had, but otherwise and afterwards they were well treated. The visit of the Matilda was followed by that of the Prince William Henry, already mentioned, which continued only three days. Captain Bligh having been sent out again, to effect the object of his former visit in the Bounty, which had been frustrated by the mutiny, reached Otaheite on April the 7th, 1792, in the Providence, attended by a small vessel named the Assistance. A second collection of bread-fruit trees was made, and after a stay of three months, Bligh sailed for the West Indies, which, with his cargo, he reached in safety. The Dædalus storeship, Captain New, succeeded Captain Bligh, and reached Otaheite early in February, 1793. The company of the Dædalus were, as usual, treated with great kindness, and two of them testified their esteem for the islanders by deserting in order to settle among them. One of the runaways was recovered, but the other, who was a Swede, was suffered to remain at Otaheite. This person will be found to make a considerble figure in the narrative of the Duff, from which it will appear that he was of material service to Captain Wilson and the missionaries, as interpreter, in their intercourse with the natives.

The next arrival at this celebrated isle, was that of the missionary ship Duff—an era in its history, in the history of the South Seas, and in the history of the world. Between the Dædalus and the Duff it is stated, that two private ships, the Jenny and the Britannia, at different periods visited Otaheite, but there is no record of either the dates or the events of their visits.

PART FIFTH.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE SPIRIT OF MISSIONS

CHAPTER I.

PRIMARY MOVEMENTS, IN BEHALF OF MISSIONS, AMONG PROTESTANT CHURCHES, IN GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

Origin of Missions—Revival in the West of Scotland—Concert for Prayer—Concert renewed and extended—Edwards's Attempt—Concert further renewed—Concerts in England—Prayer involves an active Principle—Carey's Inquiry—Carey's Sermon—Meeting at Kettering—Operations of Mr. Thomas—His timely Arrival—David Bogue's Early Views—His Sermon at Salter's Hall—Widow Williams—Evangelical Magazine—Cradle of the Missionary Society—Bogue's Address—Horne's Letters—Eyre and Wilks—First concerted Meeting—Warwickshire Association.

The spirit of missionary enterprise is inherent in genuine Christianity. Attempts to propagate the gospel result equally from obedience to the command of Christ, and to the power of a spiritual instinct implanted in the souls of the faithful at conversion. It is an established fact, that the present great missionary movements throughout Pagan lands, may be most correctly traced up to the out-pouring of the Holy Spirit, which commenced in the earlier part of the last century. The aspect, which the gracious influence first assumed, was the natural and appropriate form of prayer for the universal spread of the gospel. It is also a fact, not a little remarkable, that concerts for prayer in behalf of the heathen world, originated in that very spot where the Lord made bare his arm with a power and a glory far surpassing all that has been recorded in modern times. That spot is the West of Scotland.

This mighty display of the grace of God occurred in the year 1742. After the first awful commotion among the

spirits of men had somewhat subsided, a season of reflection ensued; and those ministers of the word who had been concerned in the work, were led to meditate on the marvellous energy which had recently accompanied the truth; and they became increasingly the subjects of an overwhelming conviction that Christ's kingdom is to be established in the earth not by the might nor by the power of man, but by the Spirit of God. In prosecution of this idea, a number of pastors resident in those districts which had been most abundantly visited with Divine influence in the year 1744, set on foot a concert for prayer. This measure was brought about by private correspondence; but an account of it was afterwards published in the Christian Monthly History. It was conceived in a wise and Christian spirit. Having supplicated Divine direction, they determined on the following method, to which they resolved to adhere for the space of two years: they agreed first to set apart a portion of Saturday evening and Sabbath morning every week, according as other duties would allow to each of the associates, respectively; and, more solemnly, the first Tuesday of each quarter, that is, the first Tuesday of February, May, August, and November, or the first convenient day after these: second, to occupy the time in the closet, in private prayer meetings, or in public meetings, as might be most practicable and convenient: and third, to invite others by personal conversation or private correspondence, to unite with them in this object.

The ministers above mentioned, on August 26, 1746, when the time specified, namely two years, had expired, published a memorial expressive of their views, addressed to their brethren in Christ, both at home and abroad. In that document they entreat, that the desire of concurrence and assistance contained in it, may by no means be understood as restricted to any particular denomination or party, but as extended to all who had at heart the interest of vital Christianity. They also, in this publication propose the extension of the period of the concert to seven years; but still leaving individuals wholly unfettered. This memorable instrument was very widely dispersed among ministers of all denominations; and about five hundred copies of it were

sent into New England. Its distribution in America produced a general and deep impression, which was powerfully aided in the following year, by the appearance of the celebrated piece of President Edwards, entitled "An humble attempt to promote explicit agreement and visible union of God's people in extraordinary prayer for the Revival of Religion, and the advancement of Christ's kingdom on earth, pursuant to Scripture promises and prophecies concerning the last time." The first part of this treatise contains an account of what had been done with respect to this matter in Great Britain, and a copy of the memorial sent from Scotland; the second part sets forth a variety of motives to compliance with what is proposed in the memorial, which are urged with all the sagacity, earnestness, and solemnity, for which the author was so remarkable; in the third part, the writer defends the measure, showing that the proposed concert is neither superstitious, whimsical, nor pharisaical, and that such concerts are not new in the church of God,—concluding the whole with an impressive exhortation to compliance with the proposal. At the end of the seven years, the agreement was, on the part of many in Glasgow and the West of Scotland, renewed and extended to seven more.*

England was subsequently visited by the same spirit. In the year 1784, at an association of the Baptist churches of Northamptonshire and the neighbouring counties, held at Nottingham, it was resolved to establish throughout the association, meetings to pray for the general revival and spread of religion. This exercise was to be observed by all the churches on the first Monday of every calendar month, a measure which was clearly the foundation of the usage which has now obtained so extensive a prevalence. In the summer of the year 1786, another association of Baptist Churches, held in Aulcester, in the county of Warwick, adopted the same resolution; and many other individual churches, both Baptist and Pædobaptist, in different counties, followed the example. In the year 1789, a cheap edition of Edwards's treatise, already mentioned, was published in England, an event which powerfully subserved the

* See Preface to Robe's Sermons; Gillies's His. Coll. vol. ii. p. 399.

object of concerts for prayer. From this time the work advanced with considerable rapidity, both in England and America. A concern for the salvation of souls, both at home and abroad, became daily deeper and more extended. Our attention will now be directed more especially to England, and to those steps which led to the formation of organized bodies there, for the spread of the gospel among the heathen.

The exercise of prayer is essentially practical in its nature and tendencies. When men once begin, in good earnest, to pray for an object; if labour be possible, and deemed available for its attainment, it will be difficult long to restrain their efforts from attempts to realize it. The Baptist association of Northamptonshire, already mentioned as the first in England to form a concert for prayer, accordingly, after having given themselves seven years to supplication in behalf of the heathen, began to consider that *prayer alone was not the whole of the duty of Christians towards mankind.* A meeting of this same association was held at Clipstone, in Northamptonshire, in the month of April, 1791:* when the Rev. Joseph Sutcliffe, of Olney, preached from 1 Kings xix. 10, and the Rev. A. Fuller, of Kettering, from Haggai i. 2. After the public services of that memorable day, the Rev. William Carey, of Leicester, whose breast had long been filled with meditations upon the subject, proposed the inquiry, "Whether it was not practicable, and their bounden duty, to attempt somewhat towards spreading the gospel in the heathen world." A solemn and interesting conversation upon the subject immediately ensued, the spirit and substance of which were forthwith embodied by Mr. Carey in a publication, entitled, "An Inquiry into the Obligations of

* It is gratifying to be able to do an act of justice to a character who gave to rank more lustre than she received from it. "Dr. Haweis had zealously concerted with the Countess of Huntingdon, shortly before her decease in 1791, a mission to Taheite, and six young men offered to engage in it. Of these, Messrs. Bicknell and Lewis alone adhered to that purpose, and fulfilled it; the rest having declined sailing with Captain Bligh in the Providence, and two being deemed not enough to be employed. Dr. Haweis took a very active part in the formation of the Missionary Society, chiefly in order to accomplish that object."—Greatheed's MS. Notes.

Christians to use means for the Conversion of the Heathen," —a work small in bulk, but big with unutterable consequences to the eternal interests of the millions of India, and the whole heathen world. This may, perhaps, be considered as the primary missionary publication in Great Britain.

Thus the subject went on fermenting during another year, in the minds both of ministers and of churches. Mr. Carey was appointed to preach at the next annual meeting of the association to be held at Nottingham, when he chose for his subject Isaiah liv. 2. On this occasion his views all tended to two points,—the duty of the churches to *expect* great things, and to *attempt* great things. In pursuance of the views expressed, and the purposes entertained at this meeting, another was fixed for the month of October that same year, 1792, to be held at Kettering. According to appointment the brethren assembled; resolutions were proposed and adopted; measures were taken to provide funds; and a committee, of which Mr. Fuller was the secretary, was appointed to manage the affairs of the newly formed institution. This glorious enterprise found immediate supporters and abettors in all parts of the empire. From London, Bristol, Cambridge, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Plymouth-Dock, as also from various places in Hampshire, Wiltshire, Bedfordshire, Essex, Suffolk, Kent, the West Riding of Yorkshire, and many other parts, the most friendly assistance was promptly and cheerfully rendered.

All things being ready, the hand of the Lord very speedily made plain their path into the heathen world. John Thomas, a name that will long live, had sailed to Bengal in 1783, as surgeon of the Oxford East Indiaman, and, immediately after his arrival on its idolatrous shores, he attempted the formation of a plan for the spread of the gospel; but his project failed. Returning to England, he embraced Baptist views, and being immersed, he began to exhort in private societies, and also to preach in different places in and around the metropolis,—an exercise whereby he was gradually becoming prepared for future service. In 1786, he sailed a second time for Bengal, as surgeon of the same ship; and, meeting on his arrival with some pious

persons, he agreed to assemble with them for the exercise of prayer, and to preach to them every Lord's day. His labours in this way were useful and acceptable; and he was induced, by the force of much entreaty, to leave the ship, and remain in the country to proclaim the gospel of Christ. In this employment he continued from 1787 to 1792, busily engaged in learning the language and translating the Scriptures. Having completed the gospels of Matthew and Mark, the Epistle of James, part of Genesis, portions of the Psalms, and the Prophets, he returned to England.

In his return at this juncture, and the other parts of his history, the finger of God was signally manifest. Wholly ignorant of the awakening spirit of his denomination, and of the arrangements being made at that time to form a missionary society for India, he came that he might endeavour to establish a fund in London for the same object, and procure a suitable fellow labourer to return with him to the regions of idolatry. Thus Mr. Thomas arrived in England at the critical moment, like another Joshua, after spying out the land, and rehearsed to his people his operations in the East, and his further designs relative to the heathen. He was the very man, and they the very persons, mutually wanted by each other. Mr. Thomas, beyond any other individual of the Baptist body, or of any body at that time, possessed the various accomplishments which the work required. He returned to India under their auspices, with Mr. Carey,—afterwards the celebrated Dr. Carey,—as his colleague, in the missionary field. The future ecclesiastical historian of India will record the sequel.

The spirit of the new movement in behalf of missions, was not confined to the Baptist body. The Independents also, in a very abundant measure, were made partakers of the glorious gift. Perhaps no minister of the age was more early or more amply baptized with that spirit than David Bogue; and no intellect or character was more capable than his of acting with force on the hearts and understandings of contemporary Christians. So early as 1792, his mighty mind had become absorbed by the subject of missions, a subject which he had even then comprehended in all its length, and

breadth, and bearings. In a sermon, which he preached at Salters' Hall, London, in that year, before the corresponding board of the society in Scotland for spreading the gospel in the Highlands and Islands, he presented a specimen of a missionary sermon which has never been surpassed.* This great discourse shows how completely the sublime object had possessed the soul of that extraordinary man; how thoroughly, in all its parts, he had revolved it in his own breast; and how intensely his heart was set on rousing the churches to the faithful discharge of their duty to the Son of God, by adopting means for the salvation of the world. A conversation with one of his hearers, the widow of his predecessor, the Rev. Mr. Williams, was followed up, on her part, by sending a small sum as her first contribution towards this object, which the worthy lady pressed her pastor immediately to undertake. Her daughter, whose zealous pen produced some of the first missionary hymns, was wont to say, with pious exultation, "If Mr. Bogue was the father, Mrs. Williams was the mother, of the Missionary Society."

We have already seen that, during this same year, the foundation was laid of the Baptist Missionary Society,—an event which no doubt contributed to augment the thought which was already embarked upon the subject among the Independents. Accordingly, indications of the Divine presence among that body, impelling them on to the glorious enterprise, became markedly manifest in the course of the following year, 1793,—a year signalized by the commencement of a religious periodical, the *Evangelical Magazine*, which, from that day to the present, has rendered incalculable service to the interests of literature and liberty, benevolence and piety, and which was destined to exert a powerful influence in then forming, as it has ever since done in sustaining, that great, truly catholic, and Christian institution, the *London Missionary Society*.

In the number of that publication for October 1793, appeared "Remarks on the Prophecies and Promises relating to

* See Dr. Bennet's masterly Life of Bogue, pp. 149—169.

the Glory of the latter Day." This paper, which comprised much profound observation on the aspect of the world and the duty of Christians, states that a large number of churches in the kingdom had, for some time past, engaged to set apart an hour in the evening of the first Monday in every calendar month, to join in fervent prayer to God for a blessing on the gospel, and on those missionaries who were then engaged in the arduous undertaking of preaching it to the Indian nations. This writer satisfied himself with general statements of fact and of duty, and with pointing out the happy effects necessarily attendant on the universal spread of Christianity, without reference to any practical measures. It was a temperate, prudent, performance, well adapted to open the question.

Thus the "little leaven" went on fermenting till August 1794, when Mr. Bogue went to supply the pulpits of the tabernacles of Bristol and Kingswood, an engagement in which Mr. Steven, minister of the Scotch church in Covent Garden, London, was his colleague. During that month these two gentlemen, Mr. Hey, pastor of the church in Castle Green, Bristol, and others, conversed upon the means and duty of attempting to awaken the public mind to this great subject. These discussions took place in the parlour of the Tabernacle House, originally erected by George Whitefield. Hence the people of that honoured and venerable place, designate that parlour "the cradle of the Missionary Society."* In prosecution of the great object, it is probable that at that very time, and in that very place, Mr. Bogue wrote his celebrated address, "To the Evangelical Dissenters who practise Infant Baptism," dated August 26th, 1794, and signed, "An Evangelical Dissenter," which appeared in the Evangelical Magazine for the next month, and of which a copy here follows:—

"Christian brethren,—God has favoured us with the knowledge of the way of salvation through a crucified Redeemer; our obligations to him on this account are inexpressible; and, I trust, we are often prompted from the fulness

* Life of Bogue, p. 170.

of our hearts to ask, *What shall we render unto the Lord for all his benefits?* If, in many things, we are anxious to make a suitable return, there is one thing with respect to which, if weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, we shall be found wanting. A survey of the state of the world presents to us more than one half of the human race destitute of the knowledge of the gospel, and sitting in darkness, and in the shadow of death. Their deplorable condition it is utterly impossible for words to describe. And what have we done for their salvation? There are hundreds of millions of poor Pagans ignorant of the true God, and falling down before stocks and stones. There are hundreds of millions more blinded by the delusions of Mahomet, and unacquainted with Jesus, as the only Mediator between God and man, whom to know is eternal life. If we have never thought of these things, there is much reason to lament our criminal unconcern for the honour of God, and for the salvation of the perishing souls of men. If they have been the subject of our serious consideration, with such a scene before our eyes, what methods have we employed that all these myriads of Pagans and Mahometans might be delivered from the power of darkness, and translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son?

"While we are forced to acknowledge that we have as a body done nothing, we may justly reflect that we are under the strongest obligations to do everything in our power. We all know, that it is the supreme end of our existence, to glorify God. But can we suppose, that, though we endeavour *personally* to live to his honour, our obligations are fulfilled, while we have employed no methods, as a *Christian body*, to lead our brethren in Pagan lands to glorify him also, by making them acquainted with his nature, government, and grace? We profess 'to love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity;' but are we not bound thereby 'to shed abroad the sweet odour of his name in every place,' till it be diffused throughout all the dark parts of the earth, the habitations of ignorance and cruelty? We are commanded 'to love our neighbour as ourselves;' and Christ has taught us, that every man is our neighbour. But do we display

this love while we allow gross darkness to cover the Pagan and Mahometan nations, and are at no pains to send to them the glad tidings of salvation through the sufferings and death of the Son of God? Perhaps we have not considered our duty resulting from that command which was directed from the supreme authority to every follower of the Lamb: *Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.* That has not been yet done. It ought to be done without delay; and every Christian is called upon to act his part, and cannot, without criminality, withhold his exertions towards procuring obedience to the command of his Redeemer and his Lord. *Gratitude* calls loudly to us to be active instruments in the hands of Christ, in proclaiming to the most distant parts of the earth, that grace, of which we hope we have ourselves been made partakers. *Justice,* too, unites her strong and imperious voice, and cries, 'Ye were once Pagans, living in cruel and abominable idolatry. The servants of Jesus came from other lands, and preached his gospel among you. Hence your knowledge of salvation. And ought not ye, as an equitable compensation for their kindness, to send messengers to the nations which are in like condition with yourselves of old, to entreat them that they turn from their dumb idols to serve the living God, and to wait for his Son from heaven? Verily their debtors ye are.'

"But it may be asked, 'Why are we, in particular, called on to exert ourselves in this work?' Will it satisfy you if I answer, that I am one of you, and think myself on this account obliged to speak more immediately to you? A connexion with a society or denomination of Christians should certainly influence us to seek the welfare of that society, and authorizes us to invite its members to discharge the duties incumbent on them. Besides, all other bodies of professing Christians have done, and are doing, something for the conversion of the heathen. The labours of the Church of Rome have been far more abundant than those of all other sects whatever. Oh that they had but conveyed Christianity *pure* to the blinded Pagans! The Church of England has a society of considerable standing for the propagation of the gospel. The Kirk of Scotland supports a similar insti-

tution. The Moravian brethren have, if we consider their numbers and their substance, excelled in this respect the whole Christian world. Of late the Methodists have exerted themselves with a most commendable zeal. An association is just formed by the Baptists for this benevolent purpose; and their first missionaries have already entered on the work. *We alone* are idle! There is not a body of Christians in the country, except ourselves, but have put their hand to the plough. We alone—and it must be spoken to our shame—have not sent messengers to the heathen to proclaim the riches of redeeming love. It is surely full time that we had begun. We are able. Our number is great. The wealth of many thousands of individuals is considerable. I am confident that very many among us are willing, nay desirous, to see such a work set on foot, and will contribute liberally of their substance for its support. Nothing is wanting but for some persons to stand forward, and to begin.

"We have the greatest encouragement, brethren, to engage in this work of love. The sacred Scripture is full of promises, that the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the channel of the sea; and every promise is a call and a motive to enter on the service without delay. It is the cause of God, and will prevail. Should we even fail in the attempt, we shall not lose our labour; for, though the heathen should not be gathered by our means, 'yet we shall be glorious in the eyes of our God.' But we have no reason to expect such an issue; for all who are engaged have met with such success, as to animate others to unite their vigorous endeavours. In no one place have pious and persevering missionaries laboured in vain. Some perhaps may ask, 'What can we do? We are willing to assist; but how can our assistance avail?' Need I say, brethren, that our duty is to use the means of Divine appointment? In every age of the church, the propagation of the gospel has been by the preaching of the ministers of Jesus Christ. By the same method are we to propagate the gospel now. It is highly probable, that some zealous men would present themselves, who are well qualified to go immediately on a mission among the heathen. But, in

general, they will require some previous instruction; and, therefore, it will be necessary to found a seminary for training up persons for the work. An able and eminently pious minister, in a central situation, must be sought for to superintend it. And as the education of a missionary must be, in many respects, widely different from that of those who preach in Christian countries, it may be expected, that every man of talents will unite his endeavours to render the plan of instruction as well adapted to answer the end in view, and, in every respect, as complete as possible. For the support of the seminary and of the missionaries, funds must be provided; and I do not think I am too sanguine in my expectations, when I say I am fully persuaded, that, in every congregation among us, annual subscribers will be found, and an annual collection granted; and, that the produce of these, aided by occasional donations, and by legacies from the lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ, will be sufficient for maintaining at least twenty or *thirty* missionaries among the heathen. What pleasing and glorious effects may result from their labours, it is impossible for the human mind to calculate!

"With objects before us so grand, and prospects so delightful, I conjure you, brethren, to exert yourselves in the cause of your Redeemer, and of perishing souls. An insulated individual, and not having an opportunity of consulting with others, I take this method of recommending the subject to your serious attention. Think of it in your most pious moments. Let it be matter of prayer before God; and make it the topic of your conversation one with another. As it is the duty of pastors of the church to be 'forward to every good work,' I call upon the ministers of the metropolis to consult together on this important subject, and, without loss of time, to propose some plan for the accomplishment of this most desirable end; that 'our Lord Jesus Christ may have the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession.'"

Near the close of this same year an event occurred, of great importance in the history of missions, namely, the

publication of the Rev. Melville Horne's Letters. The author of that publication spoke as one having authority, and not as a mere theorist. To this hour, it may be safely affirmed, these letters stand unrivalled in missionary literature; they exhibit the claims of the heathen with a clearness and cogency of thought and expression altogether irresistible. His splendid powers, too, were aided by his dear-bought experience in Sierra Leone, whither he had been carried by his zeal for the souls of men. His letters likewise derived additional force and interest from their having been penned in Africa, and from the singularly catholic and generous spirit that pervaded them, notwithstanding his relation to the Established Church. The Evangelical Magazine reviewed the Letters in the number for November, 1794,* in a spirit and a manner which reflect lasting honour on the writer and on the work. The article concludes thus:—"Could a new society be formed for promoting the gospel, and those who now, as individuals, long for it, be united together, without respect to different denominations of Christians, or repulsive distance arising from the points in dispute between Calvinists and Arminians,—would the really faithful and zealous look out for men who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and begin with one corps of missionaries to the heathen in the *South Seas*,—would they pursue their object without being discouraged by disappointment, and try again and again, till it should please God to open the way for success,—no expense attending it deserves for a moment to come into consideration. Could such a society be formed upon Mr. Horne's large scale, below which little or no good can be expected, we have the pleasure to inform the public, that one gentleman has pledged himself for *a hundred pounds*, and that we

* "Dr. Haweis and another minister, unknown to each other, reviewed a volume of letters on missions, which the Rev. Melville Horne had published, after having been chaplain to the colony at Sierra Leone; and the two reviewers, communicating their remarks to the Rev. J. Eyre, editor of the Magazine, added offers of contributing to the fund of such an institution,—Dr. Haweis the sum of £500, to be paid on the despatch of six missionaries to Taheite; the other £100, unconditionally."—Greatheed's MS. Notes.

have *five hundred pounds* more engaged from another respectable minister, for the equipment of the first six persons who shall be willing to devote themselves, and be approved by such society, for a mission to the *South Sea Islands*."

Shortly after the publication of these celebrated letters, the Rev. John Eyre, of Homerton, at a meeting held in London, at the Dissenters' library, Red Cross-street, fell into conversation with several of the Scotch ministers of London, Messrs. Waugh, Love, and Steven, on the claims and object of that book. Mr. Eyre, on his return from the library, called on his friend, the Rev. M. Wilks, of the Tabernacle, Moorfields, and rehearsed to him the conversation, with the powerful effect which the subject had produced. These two ministers resolved to attempt something; they agreed to meet again, and promised each to bring a friend. Their number soon increased to eight or nine individuals, when it was arranged to meet once a fortnight at the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate-street, for prayer and the reading of the Scriptures in relation to the work of missions.* Thus matters went on till November 4th of the same year, 1794, when the first concerted meeting, with a view to the formation of a society, took place in London. This meeting consisted of a small but zealous and harmonious circle of ministers, of various connexions and denominations.† The first stone of the mighty edifice was laid in that momentous hour, and from that time the friends of the cause daily increased.

While matters were thus ripening apace for the formation of the society in the capital, the churches, in several of the provinces, were in an advanced state of preparation for cordial union. Great praise and prominence are due to the association of Independent churches in Warwickshire. This body had begun to enter deeply into the subject, a year previous to the period now mentioned. At a meeting of ministers held at Warwick, on Thursday, June 27, 1793, the following question was proposed for consideration:—"What is the duty of Christians with respect to the spread of the gospel?" This all-important question was discussed at

* Life of Bogue, p. 177.
† Society's First Report.

considerable length, and followed by a series of resolutions illustrative of the views entertained by the association, viz.:

"1. It appears to us, that it is the duty of all Christians to employ every means in their power, to spread the knowledge of the gospel, both at home and abroad.

"2. As ministers of Christ, solemnly engaged by our office to exert ourselves for the glory of God, and the spiritual good of men, we unite in a determination to promote this great design in our respective connexions.

"3. That we will immediately recommend to our friends the formation of a fund for the above purpose, and report progress at the next meeting.

"4. That the first Monday of every month, at seven o'clock in the evening, be a season fixed on for united prayer to God for the success of every attempt, by all denominations of Christians, for the spread of the gospel.

"5. That the Rev. Dr. Williams be desired to prepare a circular letter, on the subject of spreading the gospel, by the next meeting.

"6. That the next meeting be held at Nuneaton, on Tuesday, August 6, 1793."*

The ministers assembled made a subscription among themselves "as a beginning, amounting to five pounds five shillings." This appears to have been the first business-like approach towards the formation of a regular society among the Independent body. The Warwickshire association do not seem to have been at all acquainted with the embryo, and comparatively secret, operations going on in London. They, very properly, waited not for metropolitan movements or distant leaders; but, acting up to their convictions of immediate duty, they requested the celebrated Dr. Williams to draw up a letter to the Independent churches in Warwickshire, with a copious postscript addressed to the Independent associations of ministers in the other counties of England and Wales, inviting and urging them to co-operation. This bold measure was not without considerable success, both in their own and other counties. The association

* Evan. Mag. vol. ii. p. 509.

of Warwickshire were refreshed and cheered by the address of September, 1794, already referred to; and such was their noble and Christian zeal, that they passed a resolution instructing Dr. Williams to frame a letter recording the facts of their history, in relation to missionary affairs, during the by-gone year, for insertion in the Evangelical Magazine. This letter contained a resolution, cordially approving the address of September, 1794; a strong recommendation, that the Independents should unite in sending missionaries abroad to preach the gospel to the heathen; and an assurance, that the Warwickshire association were ready to concur in such a measure, the moment it should be brought forward.*

* Evan. Mag. vol. ii. p. 511.

CHAPTER II.

MEASURES INTRODUCTORY TO THE FORMATION OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Primary Meetings—Address on Missions—Letter of Mr. Love—Meeting of Friends proposed—Ordination at Duxford—Communication from Warwickshire—Society at Worcester—Provisional Association—Circular Letter—Address on Missions—Movements at Maidenhead, in Kent, and at Plymouth.

To the communication from Dr. Williams, referred to at the close of the last chapter, the editors of the Evangelical Magazine appended a note, intimating, that the formation of a foreign missionary society was in contemplation; that two meetings had been already held by ministers in London, of various denominations, for that particular purpose; and, that a second address, designed to awaken general attention to this laudable undertaking, had been forwarded to them for insertion in their number for January. In that number, accordingly, appeared "An Address to Christian Ministers, and all other Friends of Christianity, on the subject of Missions to the Heathen." Great interest attaches to this document, as being the first publication which emanated from the individuals who composed the meeting held on the 4th of the previous November. It was printed, prior to its insertion in the magazine, and sent to a considerable number of ministers in the metropolis and its neighbourhood, with a view to try their disposition, and to call in their aid. One very remarkable feature of this composition, is its truly catholic spirit. It is clear, that Dr. Bogue and the men of Warwick contemplated a Congregational Society, but the brethren in London, one of a more general, comprehensive, and Christian character. The spirit in which they came to their mighty enterprise, may be correctly ascertained from their admirable address:—

"Dear Brethren,—The address which appeared in the Evangelical Magazine, of last September, on the subject of sending missionaries to preach the gospel among Pagan nations, seems to have awakened considerable attention. Many acknowledge the desirableness of the object; some lament with tears, its having been so long neglected; and numbers only wait with anxiety, for an opportunity of exerting themselves in so glorious a cause.

"That something may be done with effect, it is hoped, that not only evangelical Dissenters and Methodists will be found generally disposed to unite in instituting a society for this express purpose, but that many members of the Established Church, of evangelical sentiments, and of lively zeal for the cause of Christ, will also favour us with their kind co-operation. Indeed, the increase of union and friendly intercourse among Christians, of different denominations at home, is one of the happy effects which will immediately flow from an institution of this nature.

"In order to the organization of such a society, it has been proposed that a general meeting of ministers should be held in London, early in the ensuing summer. In the mean while, that such a meeting may be brought forward with advantage, it is warmly wished that ministers and others who favour the design, would immediately begin to exert themselves in their particular spheres.

"It may be asked, 'What can be done?' In answer to this proper inquiry, the following hints are humbly suggested:—Let each individual, who is affectionately zealous in the cause, take every proper opportunity, by conversation and by letter, to endeavour to communicate the same sacred fire to others. Let him try to impress his friends, not only with the general importance of this business, but with the idea of its being practicable and expedient, in concurrence with others, to do something in it now; and, where the force of argument seems to take effect, let him further endeavour to persuade his friends to come forward with pecuniary support. By all the methods which a prudent zeal can suggest, let him make up as large a list as possible of respectable names and subscriptions. Proceeding in this manner, it is impos-

sible to say what extensive success may soon follow the exertions even of a few individuals. To such as shall subscribe, it may not be amiss to hint the impropriety of diminishing their former liberality to other religious institutions, in order to extend it to this new undertaking. The Lord does not approve of 'robbery for burnt offering.' What is given should either be saved from some article of unnecessary expenditure, or taken from what would otherwise be laid up in store.

"By such efforts as these, a Christian may engage the support of his friends in behalf of this important enterprise; but let it never be forgotten, that it belongeth to him who hath the key of David, who openeth and no man shutteth, to open a great and effectual door for the propagation of his gospel. To him, therefore, let every eye be directed! The great mean of obtaining his blessing on our benevolent exertions, is prayer. Perhaps God's putting it in our hearts to engage in this excellent design, is an answer to the prayers of many of his people for a series of ages. Let us then take encouragement to stir up ourselves and others, in our several connexions, to extraordinary prayer for the pouring out of the Spirit from on high, to direct and prosper this great attempt! For this purpose, the laudable example of our brethren in Warwickshire, is worthy of general notice; who have set apart the first Monday of every month, at seven o'clock in the evening, as a season of *united prayer* for the success of such attempts to spread the gospel through the world. 'Ye that make mention of the Lord, keep not silence; give him no rest till he establish and make Jerusalem a praise in the earth.'

"Already has Divine Providence begun to smile on this infant design. In the Evangelical Magazine for November, one gentleman promises £100 to the Society as soon as it is established; and £500 more are promised by another gentleman, for the equipment of the first six missionaries to the South Sea Islands. The warmest gratitude is due to these two generous friends of the Christian interest in heathen lands, and their animating example is worthy of being held up to general imitation. Though a

Thornton is gone, we rejoice to think that the lively, efficient zeal of that great Christian philanthropist, is not extinct, but warms the breasts of others, and prompts them to the same noble and strenuous exertions.

"But the ardour of our joy is somewhat damped by the opposite consideration, that, even among serious and opulent professors of religion, *some* are to be found of a timid, cold, contracted spirit, who lose all their zeal in a false prudential delicacy, and who are ever crying out, 'A lion is in the way,' when any benevolent scheme is projected, so arduous and extensive as this before us! With such an object in view, obstacles and opposition are to be expected; but what difficulty presents itself in this case, which by sovereign grace, heretofore, has not been, and may still be, surmounted? Even the temper of the times, which some would insinuate as unfavourable to our views, is, however specious, no valid objection. That Divine oracle is a sufficient reply, 'He that observeth the winds will not sow.' Besides, the faithful page of history tells us, that times of the most gloomy and unpromising aspect, have, by the wisdom and power of the Great Head of the church, 'rather tended to the furtherance of the gospel.' Was it not in the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero, that 'so mightily grew the word of the Lord, and prevailed?'

"What remains then, but that, laying aside all excuses, we put our hand to the work with vigour and speed? Perhaps, some wish to wait till they see their seniors go before them; but this is a false modesty. Procrastination argues a torpid indifference. To be 'forward to every good work,' ranks high both as a ministerial and Christian virtue. A few successive moments will terminate our present life, and, with it, all opportunities of 'serving the will of God in our generation,' or of 'seeking the profit of many that they may be saved.' Every argument that recommends the object at all, tends also to stimulate to instant exertion. The glory of God,—the constraining influence of redeeming love,—the deplorable condition of countless millions, who never heard of the great salvation, and are 'ready to perish for lack of knowledge,'—our awful responsibility for the use we

make of the privileges and talents entrusted to us,—and, finally, the exalted honour and felicity awaiting those who shall 'have turned many to righteousness,'—are powerful incentives to speed and diligence in the noble design.

"It is pleasing to anticipate the wide-extended happiness of heathens when converted to Christ, and brought to 'know the joyful sound;' an anticipation which, by the smiles of heaven on our endeavours, we may by and by see partly realized. As yet it is only matter of prayer and contemplation; but if many hands set early to the work, who knows but, before we ourselves are numbered with the dead, we may have cause to adopt that gratulatory, triumphant song of the Apostle,—'Now, thanks be to God, who always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and by us maketh manifest the savour of his knowledge in every place!'

"Yet a little while, and the latter day glory shall shine forth with a reviving splendour, when, according to the predictions of the infallible word, 'the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. His name shall endure for ever; His name shall be continued as long as the sun: Men shall be blessed in him; and all nations shall call him blessed.' Amen."

This excellent document, bearing date December 1, 1794, was distributed with a manuscript letter, dated January 9, 1795, of which the following is a copy:—

"Rev. Sir,—By appointment of several ministers, who have repeatedly met together, with a serious design of forwarding the great object which the prefixed printed address recommends, I take the liberty to acquaint you, that another meeting for the same purpose is proposed to be held on Thursday the 15th instant, at eleven o'clock precisely. The place of meeting is the Castle and Falcon Inn, Aldersgate Street. It is also intended that the hour immediately before, viz., from ten to eleven, shall be employed in prayer at the same place.

"We realize the cry of misery and destruction in destroying lands, where millions are perishing in the blood, gall, and wormwood, of a Christless state, and are hastening to eternity in guilt, pollution, and darkness. We listen with

solemn regard to the voice of infinite grace, which promises and commands the publication of the everlasting gospel to every creature under heaven; and we earnestly desire to use some strong exertions, that, if it please our God, we may be in some degree instrumental to fulfil his merciful purposes respecting heathen countries.

"Trusting that your sentiments of zeal and compassion are congenial with ours, we solicit, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, your kind co-operation by your counsel, influence, and prayers, and request that you will favour us with your presence, at the time of prayer and consultation above mentioned."

This somewhat coarse but earnest letter, which was signed, if not written, by Mr. Love, was the means of eliciting the sentiments of a considerable number of the excellent of the earth,—sentiments which showed that many hearts and hands were ready, and eager to share in the glorious undertaking. At the time specified they met together, and began jointly to call upon the name of the Lord, with respect to the salvation of the heathen, mingling their supplications with the reading of suitable portions of his Holy Word; and afterwards they consulted together on the best measures to be adopted, with a view to the formation of a society. As a fundamental tenet, a governing principle, it was unanimously determined, that all party names and inferior distinctions, should, in the prosecution of this vast design, be absorbed in the one all-comprehensive name and cause of Christ. These meetings were held regularly once a fortnight, with much sacred pleasure to those honoured men who resorted to them, with a gradual increase of numbers and zeal, hope and expectation.

While the tide of holy feeling was thus rising in the metropolis, the spirit of the provinces was keeping equal pace with it. We have seen that the first publication of the founders was dated December 1, 1794; and at an ordination in Duxford, which took place the following day, December 2, when no fewer than twenty ministers were present, a proposition was made and unanimously agreed to, that a county association should be formed, including

Baptists and Independents, upon a plan similar to that of the ministers of Warwickshire; and steps were taken to hold, on an early day, a meeting at Cambridge for that purpose.* The noble-minded association of Warwickshire, impatient to advance, despatched a communication to the editors of the Evangelical Magazine, dated January 8, 1795, in which they express themselves in a manner worthy of the exalted position which, in relation to missions, they then occupied. It is there stated to the editors, that the association,—heartily desiring that some immediate steps might be taken for propagating the gospel among the heathen, and approving the idea suggested in their last number, "That a general meeting of ministers should be held in London or elsewhere, early in the ensuing summer,' —thereby informed their brethren and friends, through the medium of the Evangelical Magazine, that they held themselves in readiness to send one of their number to such a meeting, whenever it should be appointed. They also expressed themselves of opinion, that a sufficient fund might be readily provided to carry the grand and benevolent design into execution; and pledged themselves to contribute to such a fund to the utmost of their ability.† This most laudable and encouraging communication was published in the month of February; and the number of the Magazine for March, announced the formation of a society for missionary objects, at Worcester.

At the meeting, already mentioned, convened by Mr. Love on January 15, at the Castle and Falcon, the friends of the enterprise associated themselves into a provisional body under the following declaration:—

"We, whose names are here subscribed, declare our earnest desire to exert ourselves for promoting the great work of introducing the gospel and its ordinances to heathen and other unenlightened countries, and unite together, purposing to use our best endeavours, that we may bring forward the formation of an extensive and regularly organized society, to consist of evangelical ministers and lay

* Evan. Mag. vol. iii. p. 31. † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 73.

brethren of all denominations, the object of which society shall be to concert and pursue the most effectual measures for accomplishing this important and glorious design:— Alexander Easton, John Love, Joseph Brooksbank, Edward Edwards, J. A. Knight, W. T. Platt, Joseph Radford, William Roby, James Steven, John Towers, Matthew Wilks, T. Williams, John Eyre, James Knight, George Jerment, Jonathan Scott, John Reynolds, William Moore, William Love, Robert Simpson, John Townsend, Alexander Waugh, James Weston, George Townsend, Henry Hatley, Thomas Haweis, Thomas Beck, William Graham, Andrew Duncanson, Thomas Best, T. Priestly."

The first act of this associated body, on the very day of its formation, was to appoint a committee of correspondence; and that committee opened a correspondence with brethren in all parts of the country, which speedily developed the real state of missionary feeling among the churches. It soon became manifest, that the flame of heavenly zeal, which had for a long time been secretly kindling, was in many places already bursting forth. The suggestion of the subject, as a matter of consideration, was unnecessary; the Spirit of the Lord had, to a great extent, happily anticipated their endeavours, enlarging the hearts both of ministers and churches towards the perishing millions of distant lands. This committee was appointed on Thursday, January 15, 1795; on January the 27th, they proceeded to their labours, and commenced with the preparation of the following Circular, —a composition of the same homely, hearty character as the manuscript letter of January 9, the first that was sent to ministers in the country, in relation to the object.

"Rev. and Dear Sir,—Amidst the desolating strife of mortals, God has often 'appeared in his glory to extend the kingdom of his dear Son.' This remark, in the present era, is suited to afford peculiar consolation. And the recent 'shaking of nations' has led not a few pious minds to anticipate those glorious days when 'the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the whole earth.'

"Many Christians, both clergy and laity, have long pitied the deplorable blindness of heathen countries, and

have wished to do more than commiserate the unnumbered millions of their fellow-men, who are 'perishing for lack of knowledge.' Some have written, with considerable energy, on the nature and expediency of missions to those remote inhabitants of the earth; and our Baptist brethren have sent two persons to the East Indies, where they have met with flattering encouragement.

"Several meetings have lately been held in London, by evangelical ministers of various denominations, who cordially unite in this interesting subject. On Thursday the 15th of this month, a respectable body of ministers met at the Castle and Falcon Inn, Aldersgate Street, and appointed a committee of correspondence for the purpose of collecting the sentiments of their reverend brethren in the country, relative to this affair. We, the undersigned, being chosen to act as the said committee, are induced to make this application to you, by the sentiments we entertain of your piety, zeal, prudence, and compassion for perishing souls. We hope that your personal experience of the bitterness of a sinful state, and of the love, power, and riches of Jesus the Redeemer, and your official employments in labouring to save immortal souls, will open your heart to the enlarged concern for millions ready to perish in 'the dark places of the earth;' and prepare you to echo to the sounding of the bowels of Christian compassion towards them, from this favoured, though unworthy country. We trust to find in you, not only a well affected generous individual, but one whose active exertions will stir up and collect the scattered embers of holy zeal in the neighbourhood around you. Without, therefore, entering into long reasoning in support of our arduous attempt, we will briefly explain the service, which, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, we call you to undertake.

"The object before us is of such magnitude as to require the combined wisdom and exertions of many gospel ministers and societies. It is therefore in contemplation to bring forward, early in the ensuing summer, a general meeting of ministers and lay brethren, delegated from all parts of the country, at London, or some other central situation; their

business, when convened, will be, to plan and organize a society for carrying these great designs into immediate effect. It is necessary, in the mean while, that some prudent and active individuals be at pains to collect information respecting the number and abilities of ministers and congregations, who may be willing to afford their countenance to this undertaking. Such inquiries we wish you to make, in the country where Providence has placed you, and to use all other endeavours for promoting this cause, which you may judge expedient.

"We request your immediate answer, intimating your consent to engage in the service, together with your opinion, what is likely to be effected in your neighbourhood; and will be ready on our part, to forward to you every information, and to answer any questions you or your brethren may propose. The Warwickshire association have unanimously resolved to concur in the design, and have suggested the expediency of a short, spirited address, to be sent to ministers, to be distributed gratis among their friends.

"Hoping that the Lord will incline and direct you to do his will in this business, and wishing that his truth and work may prosper in your part of the country, and particularly under your ministerial labours, we are, with the greatest respect, Rev. Sir, yours, in the fellowship of the gospel. (Signed.) Joseph Brooksbank, John Eyre, John Love, W. T. Platt, John Reynolds, William Smith, James Stephen, Alexander Waugh, Matthew Wilks.

"P.S. Your answer may be addressed to the Rev. John Love, Queen's Row, Hoxton. We wish to unite with approved evangelical ministers, respectable in their moral conduct, and with all sects of every denomination."

It will be seen, from the close of this circular, that the Warwickshire ministers suggested the expediency of a short, spirited address upon the subject of Missions. That suggestion was acted upon; and an address, full of fire, force, and all the elements of enlightened stimulation, and every way adapted to accomplish its object, appeared.

The following are its principal paragraphs. After adverting to the primitive triumphs of Christianity, to the

long and awful night which succeeded that bright era, and to the revival of the Apostolic spirit, in the hearts of the glorious Reformers, they thus proceed :—

"It is astonishing and lamentable to reflect, how few and feeble the efforts of Christians, since that period, have been to evangelize the Pagan part of the world. Some indeed have been valiant in preaching the gospel at home. Others have done worthily by their excellent writings, in contending for primitive doctrine against internal enemies. But oh! where is the primitive zeal? Where are the heroes of the church—men who would willingly spend, and be spent, for Christ; who have the ambition not to tread in a line made ready for them, but to preach Christ, where before he was not named? Men who count not their lives dear, so that they might win souls for Christ?

"We ought, indeed, to admire that peculiar providence which inclined a number of conscientious and persecuted Protestants to quit their native island, and to venture on the barren shores of America, where they not only established gospel churches among themselves, but planted others among the native Indians. But, oh! what a melancholy proportion of the inhabitants of the globe still remain in the shadow of death! It has been computed, that four hundred and eighty-one millions are absolute Pagans, destitute of the knowledge of the true God, and of Jesus Christ whom he hath sent.

"During the last fifty years, there has been a great revival of true religion among ourselves. Many thousands of Britons have been brought to the knowledge of redemption. Jesus has become precious to multitudes who were blind pharisees or atrocious sinners. Much laudable zeal has been discovered by ministers and private Christians, in their endeavours to spread the gospel in their respective neighbourhoods; and many a town and many a village can boast some new edifice in which the free grace of Jesus is proclaimed, and his worthy praise resounded. Conscious, also, that hitherto their efforts have been enfeebled for want of union, societies of Christians begin, in several parts of the kingdom, to associate in a regular manner, and in limited districts, to

form new plans of usefulness, and to establish funds for the more effectual promotion of vital godliness.

"Among the generous designs of lively Christians, we rejoice to hear that more than a few, unacquainted with each other's wishes, have, in different places, expressed most vehement desires to do something for the poor heathen; and, without any present specific plan of co-operation in view, have actually begun to lay by a little money, that they may be ready to contribute to so glorious a work, as soon as ever Providence may favour them with an opportunity.

"Modern discoveries in geography, have perhaps contributed to enlarge the desires of Christians in this respect. Captain Cook and others have traversed the globe, almost from pole to pole, and have presented to us, as it were, a new world—a world of islands in the vast Pacific Ocean, some of them as promising in the disposition of the people, as in the appearance of the country. May we not reasonably hope that a well planned and well conducted mission to one or more of these, seconded with the earnest prayers of thousands of British Christians, will be attended with the blessing of God, and issue in the conversion of many souls?

"Enterprises of this kind, supported by the Danes, the Moravians, the Society in Scotland, and many others, have had some success; although some of them have been conducted on plans which experience has now taught us were very imperfect. The late attempt of our Christian brethren, of the Baptist denomination, so highly honourable to their active zeal and true philanthropy, is already said to wear a promising aspect. Thus much at least we may infer, that, when a benevolent scheme of this sort is adopted, neither money is withheld, nor missionaries denied. Oh! that we may soon hear of multitudes of Hindoos flying to Christ as doves to their windows, and uniting together in praising the Lamb!

"May we not indulge a hope, that the happy period is approaching, when the Redeemer shall take unto him his great power and reign; 'He *must* increase,' 'His name *shall* be great.' And is there not a general apprehension, that the Lord is about to produce some great event? Already

have we witnessed the most astonishing transactions; and is it not probable, that the great Disposer of all is now about, by shaking terribly the nations, to establish that spiritual and extensive kingdom which cannot be shaken? Let us then—utterly and sincerely disclaiming all political views and party designs, abhorring all attempts to disturb order and government, in this or any other country—vigorously unite in the fear of God, and in the love of Christ, to establish a Missionary Society upon a large and liberal plan, for sending ministers of Christ to preach the gospel among the Heathen.

"Many thanks are due to some late writers on this important subject. About three years ago, Mr. Carey of Leicester published 'An Inquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen, in which the religious state of the different Nations of the World, the Success of former Undertakings, and the Practicability of further Undertakings, are considered.' We beg leave to recommend the perusal of this well-meant pamphlet to our readers; and to remind them, that it derives no small addition of value from this consideration, that the author has given to his precepts the force of example, by becoming a missionary himself, and is now a preacher on the banks of the Ganges.

"The Rev. Melville Horne is also entitled to public thanks for his 'Letters on Missions; addressed to the Protestant Ministers of the British Churches.' That gentleman has also been a volunteer in the service, and was for a time chaplain of Sierra Leone, in Africa; though he declined the arduous task, for reasons which he very candidly assigns, he has pleaded the cause of missions in a manner more masterly and spirited than any of his predecessors. He has ably detected the mistakes which have too often occasioned the miscarriage or small success of former attempts; and, taught by painful experience, has pointed out a more excellent way. We sincerely hope that this bold and zealous production will have the most beneficial effects, both in promoting and directing future missions. We must refer to both of these publications for answers to those objections which are so

commonly started by *Laodicean professors*. We must not dream of missions destitute of difficulties; but these worthy men have showed, and experience has abundantly proved, that the difficulties are not insuperable. There is also every reason to believe, that they may be lessened both in number and degree. But were it otherwise, ought we not to blush at being deterred from the godlike attempt, by difficulties scarcely considered when fame or worldly gain is the object? The brave officers of the army and navy hide not themselves at home, in inglorious ease and safety, when the dangers of their country call them to the camp or the ocean. Cook and other navigators have voluntarily exposed their lives in unknown tracts, in fields of ice, and in the abodes of savages. Our merchants venture into the burning and frozen regions, and trade with men of every colour and clime, for uncertain riches. And are there not yet among us numbers of ministers and pious youths, who would gladly fly to the ends of the earth, bearing with them the glad tidings of salvation? Let us but make the trial, and it will assuredly be crowned with success.

"Dear brethren! let it be remembered, that Britain, Christian Britain, was once an island of idolatrous barbarians; and such it had yet remained, unless some of God's people in distant countries—(oh that we knew their names! —we *shall* know them in glory)—unless they had formed the benevolent plan of sending missionaries hither. Let us, in return, 'go and do likewise.' Look on the terrestrial globe. Let Africa, Indostan, and China attract your notice. Behold the astonishing clusters of the South Sea Islands. Let us meet for prayer and consultation; let us set on foot a liberal subscription; let us look out for preachers of an Apostolic spirit; let them, well provided for, depart in sufficient numbers to strengthen each other's hands; let them cultivate a friendly intercourse with the natives, and, by living among them in habits of friendship, adopt the most prudent means of leading them into a gradual acquaintance with the glorious truths of Revelation.

"Let us do something immediately! Life is short. Let us 'work while it is called to-day;' the night of death ap-

proaches, and our opportunities of being useful will close for ever! 'Whatsoever, then, our hands find to do, let us do it with all our might,' and that without delay.

"To make an entrance on this great work, we beg leave to propose, in the first place, 'That gospel ministers will take the pains to stir up their respective auditories to a more close and serious consideration of the object in view, and to confer with them upon it. We then wish that some estimate may be formed, of what each society may be able and ready to contribute annually to a common fund, without injury to themselves, or to their ministers. This done, we earnestly desire, that a minister, or some other intelligent person, be deputed by the united congregations of each county or counties, to meet in London, as soon as possible, in the course of the ensuing summer, there to confer in a solemn manner on this important affair; and, if the attempt be resolved upon, to choose a committee, resident in London, connected with corresponding committees in different parts of the country, to carry the plan that may then be adopted into execution, as soon as circumstances will admit."

The spirit of missions was rapidly rising in every direction; and events full of promise and of encouragement succeeded each other in quick succession. At a meeting of ministers held at Maidenhead, in the Easter week, the subject was discussed, and a resolution adopted, "That they most cordially approved of the design; that they should be much rejoiced in realizing the practicability of the object; and that, after the intended society was formed by a general meeting in London, and the plan fixed, they should exert themselves, to the utmost, to contribute towards so benevolent a design." The churches in Kent also deserve to be noticed with marked honour. On Wednesday, June 10, 1795, the Association of Independent Ministers in that county held their annual meeting, at the Rev. Mr. Leggett's chapel, at Stroud. At this convention it was resolved, "That a monthly meeting be appointed in each congregation, for prayer to God to spread his truth and succeed his gospel, not only in this country, but particularly in foreign parts, where missionaries are intended to be sent." It was

also resolved, "That a letter be drawn up and sent to the respective ministers and congregations in the county of Kent, to excite them to come forward and to support the new society about to be formed in London." Two delegates likewise were chosen to attend the general meeting about to be held in the city, and to assure them that the men of Kent would not be wanting, in a cordial and liberal support. On the 17th of the same month, too, the Western Association met at Plymouth, and, after serious conversation and prayer, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—"That the evening of the first Monday in every calendar month be set apart for the express purpose of praying for the more extensive spread of the gospel of Christ, and for the prosperity of the attempts now making for carrying the welcome tidings of salvation to heathen nations; and that the Rev. J. Small, the moderator of the assembly, be appointed to correspond with the committee in London, on the subject of sending missionaries abroad, and to express the earnest desire of this body for the prosperity of this desirable undertaking, and ready concurrence in the support of every plan which may be adopted, calculated to promote this noble cause."

The circular, issued by the committee of correspondence, in the mean time called forth from different parts of the country, the most cordial expressions of opinion. Thus encouraged, after having taken every precaution, and adopted all prudential means to secure success, the metropolitan promoters of the great object became emboldened to think of a general meeting.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST GENERAL MEETING IN THE METROPOLIS, AND FORMATION OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Circular to Ministers—Circular to Laymen—Preliminary Meeting—Public Meeting—Haweis' Introductory Sermon—Society formed—Burder's Sermon—Hey's Sermon—South Seas—Hill's Sermon—Haweis' Speech—Bogue's Sermon—Election of Officers—Plan of the Society.

It only remained now to concentrate the flame of missionary zeal, which had burst forth throughout the empire, and to form a plan of combined operation. With a view to the accomplishment of this great object, it was determined to hold a general meeting; and, as a preparatory measure, to give extensive circulation to the following document among the ministers of the capital and the provinces:—

"Dear Brother in the Lord,—You have most probably been made acquainted, that some of your fellow-labourers in the gospel of Christ, of different denominations, practising infant baptism, have united for the purpose of establishing a society to support missions, in heathen and unenlightened countries. The committee, whose names are subscribed to this address, compose a part of the number who have met for several months past in London, to seek the Lord's direction, and blessing on this benevolent design. Though our plan is distinct from the undertakings of the Moravian brethren, the Arminian Methodists, and the churches who hold the necessity of adult immersion, we are far from opposing or disapproving their laudable endeavours; on the contrary, we applaud their zeal and rejoice in their success, accounting it our duty to imitate their truly primitive example. At the same time, it is our desire to attempt an improvement of the plan on which they have proceeded, by an extension of its limits, both in the foundation and superstructure of the intended edifice. We, therefore, earnestly invite all

who hold the truth in love, to unite in exertions which may hereafter be found extensively successful.

"Early in the present year, we wrote to several ministers in the various counties of England, soliciting their co-operation, and requesting them to make known our communications in their respective vicinities and connexions. A small printed address has been also widely circulated. Through the medium of the Evangelical Magazine the subject has been frequently recommended to general attention. The answers received, both from individuals and associated ministers, have been of a very encouraging nature. By these our expectations are exceedingly flattered, as they contain expressions of the most lively pleasure, with which our brethren concur in our design, and also assurances of their determination to afford us their most strenuous support. At length it has been resolved to hold a general meeting in London, on the 22d, 23d, and 24th days of next September, for the purpose of forming a permanent society, and deciding upon the best mode of carrying our wishes into full effect. In prospect of this solemn assembly, we address you, dear brother, as one who, we trust, feels no less interested than any of us in the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour. The success of the attempt appears, under God, to be almost wholly with the ministers of Jesus Christ, and where *they* lead, their flocks will probably follow; what they have faith and love to undertake, the people will easily find means to execute. For our own parts, we do not imagine, that the zeal of gospel ministers will be found wanting, as they know and believe that the kingdom of their Lord is already universal in point of *right*, and must hereafter become so, in *fact*. We hope, dear brother, that you in particular, honoured with the fellowship of the ministry, are ready to stand among the foremost, in whatever way the Lord is pleased to call you. Deeming it inexcusable to remain inactive, we have done, and through grace will continue to do, what we can. We now apply to you for assistance; we put the case into your hands—into yours as much as any man's,—trusting that it will not fail for want of your support, and that, if it should stop short of its great end, it will

be as far beyond your station, as your unwearied endeavours can advance it.

"We request you, dear brother, to make the congregation over which the Lord hath placed you, acquainted with our design, and to recommend it earnestly to their serious, devotional, and practical regard. Improve every opportunity your situation affords, of conferring with your neighbouring brethren, upon the best means of strengthening our hands in this good work. Where congregations cannot depute their minister to assist at our deliberations, we earnestly beg that such as are associated together, will delegate, at least, one of their number, for that purpose; and others, no doubt, will help us by their intercessions at a throne of grace.

"After all, the chief difficulty will be to find proper missionaries—men of God, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost. We expect, however, to hear from many places, that the Lord has been stirring up the hearts of fit persons to this glorious work. Permit us to ask, is there among your acquaintance any one desirous to take advantage of the opportunity which we trust will shortly be furnished, to become instrumental in conveying the glad tidings of redemption into the regions of the shadow of death? Your own judgment and that of your friends, as to the best manner of proceeding, in order to find such instruments, will be highly acceptable.

"If it please the great Lord of the harvest to send forth many labourers into the wide extended field of the heathen world, considerable funds will be necessary, that the most distant climes may be visited with the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ. It is therefore desirable to form some estimate of what can be done in the various Christian societies that give attention to this call. If each congregation contributes something, however small the ability of many may be, the aggregate amount will be considerable. By the more affluent, a due regard, we hope, will be paid to the example of princely generosity, already given by some who have set their shoulders to this sublime work.

"The time of the proposed meeting speedily approaches. What your hands find to do, dear brother, do it with all your

might. Millions of immortal souls call upon us for the word of salvation. The honour of the holy and blessed Redeemer is bleeding in every climate, through the crimes of wicked men who assume the Christian name. What ought to be our feelings and exertions! Shall we not hope that the age of cold indifference is past, and that the Spirit of Christ has kindled in our hearts an unextinguishable flame of love to God and man? May he guide and prosper all your labours of love among the people of your immediate charge, and smile upon whatever you undertake for the furtherance of this grand object!

"Commending both it and you to his gracious patronage, we remain your affectionate brethren and servants for Jesus' sake:—Joseph Brooksbank, John Eyre, Samuel Greatheed, John Love, W. F. Platt, John Reynolds, William Smith, James Steven, Alexander Waugh, Matthew Wilks.

"As the general concurrence in the formation of the plan is an object much to be desired, we shall be happy to see you among us; hoping to derive pleasure from your company, and assistance from your talents.

"N.B. A consultation of the friends of the institution will be held at the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate Street, at six o'clock, on the Monday evening preceding the general meeting, when your attendance will be particularly acceptable."

In addition to this communication to ministers of the gospel, a letter of invitation likewise was sent to many private Christians in the city and its environs. Never, perhaps, in the history of religious enterprise, was a larger amount of human prudence exercised in any single undertaking. Every possible precaution was taken to secure success, and the result, under the divine blessing, exceeded the most sanguine expectations of its most ardent friends. Autumn drew on, and the week appointed for the convention at length arrived. On the morning of Monday, September 21, 1795, the London pastors and country ministers who had reached town, met at the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate Street, to arrange the proceedings of the conference. This select assemblage did not deal in words merely, but in sub-

stantial deeds. As a first step in the business of that memorable week, they opened a subscription among themselves to the amount of £740, donations, and about £50, annual subscriptions.

In the evening the First General Meeting was held at the above place at six o'clock. The assembly was such, both in character and numbers, as to render it no longer a question whether the formation of a society worthy of the object and of the British empire, were practicable. Sir Egerton Leigh, Baronet, having taken the chair, Mr. Boden, of Hanley Green, opened the meeting with prayer, and Mr. Steven, of London, stated the measures which had been adopted to rouse the attention of the British churches, and to assemble the meeting then convened. The circular letter which had been sent to ministers throughout the kingdom, was read by the chairman. Mr. Love, of London, read a multitude of letters from pastors in the provinces, expressive of their cordial concurrence, and assuring them of their individual and united determination to co-operate in every measure that had a tendency "to promote a mission to heathen and unenlightened countries." Nor in this day of love and loyalty to the King of saints, were Scottish protestations of adherence wanting. The fire had spread to the mountains, and the descendants of the "Worthies" kindled into ardour in the cause of benighted nations. Letters from Scotland full of encouragement were read; and the assembly received with visible emotion, the tidings that "praying societies" had resolved to engage in intercessions at Glasgow, at the very time the ministers and their friends were assembled in London. Mr. Haweis next read letters from several persons who had tendered their services to labour in the missionary field.

After this opening of the business and this statement of the aspect of the incipient enterprise, it was unanimously resolved,—"That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the establishment of a society for sending missions to the heathen and unenlightened countries is highly desirable." The passing of this most important resolution created, in many a bosom, a joy too great for utterance. Immediately after-

wards, the Rev. John Eyre read the outline of a Plan prepared by the Committee, which was approved as proper to be laid before the General Meeting on the ensuing day. Subscription books were then opened, and the thanks of the meeting were voted to the associated and individual ministers, who had in any way favoured this design; to the gentlemen of the committee, who brought forward the plan; and to the Chairman, Sir Egerton Leigh, for his polite attention to the business of the night. The Rev. R. Hill concluded the whole with prayer, and the assembly broke up with a feeling of satisfaction which cannot be expressed.

On Tuesday morning, at ten o'clock, a numerous and respectable congregation assembled at Northampton Chapel, Spa Fields, comprising about two hundred ministers of various denominations. Prayers were read by Mr. Kirkman; Mr. Sibree, of Frome, gave out a hymn; Mr. Haweis prayed; Mr. Leggett, of Stroud, gave out another hymn; then Mr. Haweis preached, preparatory to the formation of the society, from Mark xvi. 15, 16: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned." Mr. Cook, of Maidenhead, afterwards gave out a hymn, and Mr. Lambert, of Hull, concluded the service with prayer. Immediately after, all persons desirous of becoming members of the Society were requested to assemble in the area of the chapel. Mr. Kingsbury, of Southampton, being chosen Moderator, introduced the business of the Society with prayer; Mr. Eyre gave a concise history of missions, and then read over the Plan; a committee, consisting of the Rev. Messrs. Bogue, Eyre, Greatheed, Haweis, Hey, Hill, Kingsbury, Lambert, Love, Reynolds, Saltern, Steven, and Waugh, were appointed to bring forward the plan of the Society. During their absence, Mr. Wilks gave out a hymn, and delivered a short address of congratulation to the ministers. The Committee having made a few alterations in the Plan, returned with it to the meeting, when it was read a second time, considered, discussed, and, with some correction, adopted, article by article. The meeting then adjourned.

On the evening of this day, the first sermon in behalf of the newly formed society was preached by Mr. Burder of Coventry, from Jonah iii. 2, "Arise, go unto Nineveh, that great city, and preach unto it the preaching that I bid thee." Mr. Hey of Bristol gave out the hymns; Mr. Waugh offered the first, and Mr. Parsons, of Leeds, the second prayer. The service being ended, Mr. Kingsbury was again chosen Moderator; Mr. Burder then read the plan of the Society, and arrangements were made to fill up the Direction. About nine o'clock the assembly broke up, and thus terminated the work of that eventful day.

On Wednesday morning, at ten o'clock, the friends of the cause assembled at Haberdashers' Hall Meeting House, when Mr. Greatheed, of Newport Pagnel, preached from Luke x. 29, "And who is my neighbour?" Mr. Sewell, of Woodbridge, Mr. Saltern, of Bridport, and Mr. Whitridge, of Oswestry, led the devotions; Mr. Sloper, of Devizes, Mr. Herdsman, of South Petherton, and Mr. Smille, of Great Grimsby, gave out the hymns. After service, Dr. Hunter being chosen Moderator, the ministers proceeded to discuss several subjects relative to the mission, and having nominated twenty-five directors, the meeting was adjourned about three o'clock. In the evening, an hour before the appointed time, an immense concourse had assembled in the Tabernacle. Thousands went away unable to obtain admission. The front seats of the four extensive galleries, capable of accommodating one hundred and fifty persons, were occupied wholly by ministers; and many in addition were dispersed over the congregation. Mr. Hey preached from Ephesians i. 10, "That in the dispensation of the fulness of times, he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in him;" Mr. Slatterie, of Chatham, Mr. Jay, of Bath, and Mr. Townsend, of Ramsgate, engaged in prayer; and Mr. Ralph, of Maidstone, Mr. Rooker, of Goldhill, and Mr. Beaufoy, of Town Sutton, gave out the hymns. At the conclusion of the service, Mr. Wilks announced the names of the intended new directors.

On Thursday morning, between eight and nine o'clock,

the ministers assembled in the school-room adjoining Surrey Chapel, and gave in their names and addresses. Those delegated from associations, or particular churches, sat by themselves, and intimated the probable extent of the pecuniary assistance which their respective constituents might contribute. It was afterwards resolved, that their first missionary efforts should be directed to the South Seas. At ten o'clock, Mr. Percy, of London, began to read prayers; Mr. Hill preached from Matt. xxiv. 14, "And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come;" Mr. Griffin, of Portsea, and Mr. Ray, of Sudbury, Suffolk, prayed; Mr. Wood, of Rowell, Mr. Audley, of Cambridge, and Mr. Douglass, of Newmarket, gave out the hymns. At the close, Mr. Haweis, in a speech of considerable length and great interest, exhibited the claims of the South Seas, and assigned various reasons for making the first attempt among the beautiful islands which adorn that vast expanse of waters. The service concluded about two o'clock, with "Praise God from whom all blessings flow."

The last of this memorable series of services was held in the evening at Tottenham Court Chapel. Here also the congregation was immensely great; the front seats round the galleries, and the second seat in the front gallery, were occupied by ministers. Mr. Bogue preached from Haggai i. 2, "Thus speaketh the Lord of Hosts, saying, This people say, the time is not come, the time that the Lord's house should be built." Mr. Cook, of Maidenhead, and Mr. Crole, of London, led the devotions; Mr. Jefferson, of Basingstoke, Mr. Golden, of Croydon, and Mr. Thresher, of Abingdon, gave out the hymns; and the Rev. J. A. Knight, of the Tabernacle, and Tottenham Court Chapel, closed with a brief exhortation.

The business of this important week was concluded on the afternoon of Friday, when the General Meeting was convened for the last time, on this occasion, at the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate Street. The Rev. Mr. Percy took the chair, and after prayer, the meeting proceeded to the election of a Treasurer, when Mr. Joseph Hardcastle was chosen with the utmost unanimity. The meeting next elected a

body of twenty-five directors; viz., the Rev. Messrs. Boden, Bogue, Brooksbank, Burder, Eyre, Greatheed, Haweis, Hey, Hill, Lambert, Love, Mends, Parsons, Platt, Reynolds, Steven, Waugh, Wilks, Sir Egerton Leigh, Messrs. Foyster, Neal, Stokes, West, John Wilson, and Thomas Wilson. To this list were added, with the unanimous approbation of the meeting, the following gentlemen, nominated by those now chosen: the Rev. Messrs. Saltern and Audley, and Messrs. Alday, Campbell, R. Cowie, R. Steven, W. Taylor. On the morning of the following Monday, twenty-six directors met at ten o'clock, and immediately appointed two secretaries, the Rev. John Love, and Mr. W. Shrubsole; the former was appointed to manage all correspondence out of England, the latter the more local and central business. The following is

THE PLAN.

I. *The Name.*—The Missionary Society.

II. *The Object.*—The sole object is to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen, and other unenlightened nations.

III. *The Members.*—Persons subscribing one guinea, or more, annually; every benefactor making a donation of ten pounds; one of the executors, on the payment of a legacy amounting to fifty pounds or upwards; and ministers, or other representatives of congregations in the country, which subscribe or collect for the use of the society, five pounds annually.

IV. *General Meetings.*—To be held annually in London, on the second Wednesday of May, and oftener if necessary, to choose a treasurer, directors, secretary, and collectors, and to receive reports, audit accounts, and deliberate on what farther steps may best promote the object of the society. At every such meeting, one sermon, or more, shall be preached by one or more of the associated ministers, and notice given, as is usual on such occasions; the president of the day shall open and conclude the meeting with prayer, and sign the minutes of the proceedings. All matters proposed shall be determined by the majority of the members present.

V. *The Direction.*—To consist of as many directors, annually chosen out of its members, as circumstances may require. At the first meeting twenty-five shall be elected, with power to associate with themselves such an additional number as may be judged by them expedient, when the extent of the Society is ascertained. Three-fifths, and no more, of these directors shall reside in or near London, where all monthly meetings shall be held for transacting the business of the Society. Not less than seven shall constitute a board. For greater facility and expedition they may subdivide into committees, for managing the funds, conducting the correspondence, making reports, examining missionaries, directing the missions, &c., but no act of these committees shall be valid till ratified at a monthly meeting. No expenditure exceeding £100 shall be made without consulting all the directors, or £500 without calling a general meeting of the subscribers. Annual subscribers of £10 or upwards, and benefactors of £100 or more, may attend, if they please, with the directors, at any of the monthly meetings. On any emergency the directors shall call a general meeting of the Society, to whom their arrangements shall be submitted; nor shall they enter upon a new mission till they obtain the general concurrence.

VI. *The Funds.*—Arising from donations, legacies, subscriptions, collections, &c., shall be lodged, as soon as collected, in the hands of the treasurer. The directors shall place in the public funds all moneys so paid, whenever they exceed £300, until they are required for the use of the mission, excepting it appears to them prejudicial to the interests of the Society.

VII. *Salaries.*—The secretary shall receive such a salary as the directors may appoint; but the directors themselves shall transact the business of the Society without any emolument.

TREASURER:

Joseph Hardcastle, Esq., Duck's-foot-lane, Thames-street.

SECRETARIES:

Rev. John Love, Hoxton.

Mr. William Shrubsole, Old-street-road.

Agreeably to the above plan, the following persons had been already chosen directors, and formed into distinct committees, for the more ready despatch of business:—

Mr. J. Alday, Carlisle-street, Soho.
J. Audley, Esq., of Cambridge.
Rev. J. Boden, Hanley-green.
Rev. D. Bogue, A.M., Gosport.
Rev. J. Brooksbank, Newington-green.
Rev. J. Burder, Coventry.
R. Cowie, Esq., Islington.
Mr. R. Campbell, Marybone-street.
Rev. J. Eyre, A.M., Hackney.
S. Foyster, Esq., Tottenham-street.
Rev. S. Greatheed, Woburn.
J. Hardcastle, Esq., Duck's-foot-lane.
Rev. R. Hill, A.M., Surrey Chapel.
Rev. T. Haweis, LL.B., Aldwinkle.
Rev. J. Hey, Bristol.
Rev. George Lambert, Hull.
Sir E. Leigh, Bart., Warwickshire.
Rev. H. Mends, Plymouth.
J. Neale, Esq., St. Paul's-churchyard.
Rev. W. F. Platt, Holywell-mount.
Rev. E. Parsons, Leeds.
Rev. J. Mead Ray, Sudbury.
Rev. J. Reynolds, Hoxton-square.
Rev. J. Saltern, Bridport.
Rev. J. Steven, Thornhaugh-street.
Mr. R. Steven, Upper Thames-street.
W. Taylor, Esq., Southampton.
Rev. A. Waugh, Alsop's-buildings
D. West, Esq., Southampton-row.
Rev. M. Wilks, Old-street-road.
Rev. E. Williams, D.D., Rotherham.
John Wilson, Esq., Islington.
Thomas Wilson, Esq., Wood-street.
Joseph Wilson, Esq., Milk-street.

CHAPTER IV.

REASONS FOR SELECTING THE ISLANDS OF THE SOUTH SEAS, AS THE FIRST FIELD OF MISSIONARY OPERATION, AND THE BEST MODE OF CONVEYING MISSIONARIES.

Field of Labour—Haweis' Memoir—Difficulties—Facilities—Resolution relative to Polynesia—Transfer of Missionaries—The Ship Duff—Her Insurance—Kindness of Public Bodies and Private Persons—Conduct of the Lords of the Admiralty.

It has already appeared, that the minds of those whose hearts were stirred up to this great work, were specially directed to the islands of the Pacific. From the date of the publication of Horne's Letters downward, the eyes of a multitude had been directed to those distant dwellings of the human race. In addition to the uniformity with which, in various modes, it was kept before the public mind by the Corresponding Committee, the Evangelical Magazine—then, as now, all-powerful, from its catholic spirit, its editorial integrity and ability, and its immense circulation—lent its full weight to establish and confirm the general preference. In the number for July, 1795, appeared a long and captivating communication in support of that view, from the pen of Dr. Haweis. In that article he avows, that, for several years, the subject had occupied his mind, and led him to the conclusion that "very probable success would attend a proper mission to the South Sea Islands." He descants with rapture on the island of Otaheite, as the queen of a cluster all clothed in beauty, and almost realizing the fabled gardens of the Hesperides. He argues the likelihood of success from the people, regarding them as intelligent, capable of instruction, mild and easy of access, with abundant time for information, and all at leisure to attend to the communications of the missionaries. He next describes the steps which he considers most likely to be attended with success, and obviates the difficulties to be expected.

The subject of the preference which was due to the isles of the South, was resumed with increased urgency, at the time of the formation of the Society. It was referred to in several of the sermons, and discussed at the public meetings. At the close of Mr. Hill's sermon in Surrey Chapel, September 24, 1795, Dr. Haweis, by request, delivered "A Memoir on the most eligible part to begin a Mission, and the most probable means of accomplishing it," in the presence of about three hundred ministers, and an immense concourse of people. This memoir is throughout a sparkling and splendid production; it clothes marvellous facts in the dazzling embellishments of an impassioned eloquence. Kindling into ardour at the very outset, the enthusiastic orator exclaims,—"The field before us is immense. O that we could enter at a thousand gates; that every limb were a tongue, and every tongue a trumpet, to spread the joyful sound! Where so very considerable a part of the habitable globe on every side calls for our efforts, and, like the man of Macedonia, cries, 'Come over and help us,' it is not a little difficult to decide at what point to begin." He then proceeds with his plausible and persuasive memoir, the pith and substance of which may be given in a few words.

It is assumed that two questions are fundamental; first, "Where are the difficulties least? Where is the prospect of success greatest?" To settle the first question, it is necessary to consider what facts or circumstances constitute difficulties; and such are the following:—

1. *An inhospitable climate.* Whether that inhospitality arise from humidity, intense heat, or cold, each alike unfriendly to constitutions not inured to them; and the preservation of a missionary's life is of the last importance to success.

2. *Absolute Governments.* A missionary could not enter some countries without a moral certainty of being murdered. This truth may be instanced in China and Japan, countries, the immense population of which render them desirable objects for a mission, but in neither of which is it possible to introduce one.

3. *Established prejudices of false religion.* Nothing can

ultimately stand before the standard of the cross; but in the commencement of an infant work, where only a few objects can be embraced, it is right to choose the least unfavourable. Where civilization hath long obtained—where false religions have become deeply rooted, have formed *castes*, and plead immemorial antiquity, they present a wall of brass around a people. Such is the state of the Hindoos and Mahomedans, who are shut up within a sevenfold barrier of prejudices against us.

4. *The acquirement of languages.* As we have no reason to expect the gift of tongues, difficulties of this kind come necessarily into consideration. On the coast of Africa, the different nations and tongues are so multiplied near the coast, as to augment the difficulty of evangelical operations. Several languages are necessary to a missionary in India, and the Chinese tongue is all but insuperable.

With respect to the second question, "What field of greatest usefulness presents the fewest?" It is replied with confidence, that, of all the regions of the earth which are yet in heathen darkness, the South Sea Islands appear to combine the greatest prospect of success with the smallest number of difficulties to be necessarily surmounted.

1. *The climate* is unequalled. The cold of winter is never known; the trees are clothed in perpetual foliage, and, during most of the year, bear fruit; the heat is constantly alleviated by alternate breezes, while the natives sit under the shade of groves, scattering their odours, and loaded with fruit, the skies always serene and the nights beautiful; and the surrounding ocean offering an inexhaustible supply of food for man. The diseases which ravage Europe, unless imported, are unknown; health and longevity, in the absence of physicians or the knowledge of medicine, generally mark the inhabitants. The fertility of the climate is a high consideration. The natives, freed from the necessity of hard toil for daily bread, are always sure to have time for instruction. We shall not have, as our brethren the Moravians, to follow them into the lonely wilds of a desert in their hunting excursions, or over fields of ice, and amid the snows of winter. Here every man, sitting under his cocoa or bread-

fruit tree, is at hand, and the sound of the saw and the anvil will never fail to attract an audience.

2. *The government* is monarchical, but of the mildest nature, with little authority, no written law, nor the use of letters, where the disorders seem so few, that the arm of force is but seldom exerted. So far from having anything to fear, British seamen have attempted, at the hazard of their lives, to obtain a retreat there, by swimming naked from their ships.

3. *Religious prejudices* are not unconquerably strong. Every guilty creature feels the necessity of atonement, in some shape or form. The islanders have their victims and their gods, with which we are but slightly acquainted; but the little that we do know, affords the strongest evidence, that their priests are not invested with a power to persecute; nor can the people be averse to hear us on a religious subject, since they reverence us, as their superiors, on almost every other.

4. *The language is simple* and may be readily acquired. The vast extent of its use through the immense field of scattered islands, in which it prevails, with little variation, is a consideration of the utmost moment. Since Tupia, who sailed with Cook, was always able to converse with the natives of the different islands at which they touched, it may be inferred, that the difference of dialects cannot be great.

Such is the substance of Dr. Haweis' representation; which he concluded with the following remarkable declaration:—"We have a field wholly uncultivated; but the soil is fit for seed, and the climate genial; and coming first, we have everything in our favour, and may without dispute or opposition, inculcate the true knowledge of God our Saviour. From the king on the throne to the infant of a year old, I should not be surprised to see our schools thronged, and our worship attended." This state of things, after a sore trial of faith and patience, Dr. Haweis lived to see realized to the very letter.

On the following day, which was the last of the General Meeting, the assembled body of the constituency passed unanimously a resolution, "That the first missionary efforts

of the society should be directed to one or more of the South Sea Islands." On this great occasion, that body were so deeply impressed with the peculiar nature and importance of this mission, as to decide, that it should be undertaken on a scale worthy of the object, and sustained in a corresponding manner. They, therefore, resolved—"That if the directors could prepare a mission to the South Sea Islands, consisting of not less than six persons, before the General Meeting in May, they were empowered to expend such a sum upon it as they might think necessary."

The business of conveyance, which had, from an early period, occupied the busy mind of Dr. Haweis, next demanded discussion. He had indeed discoursed of it copiously in the Memoir already mentioned. It was considered, that the modes were reducible to three: the first, by a passage in a South Sea whaler; the second, by a ship of large tonnage engaged by individuals on a commercial adventure, for the sake of accommodating the Society; and the third, by a small vessel purchased or hired by the Society itself, and under its immediate control.

The first of these modes was, upon inquiry, soon rejected as most incommodious, hazardous, and ineligible. Two modes, therefore, only remained, and a committee was formed to ascertain which was entitled to the preference. At the next monthly meeting, the committee presented the outlines of a plan for accomplishing this service, by a vessel fitted out for the purpose by a number of subscribers, provided commercial arrangements could be made with the Government, the East India Company, or otherwise, to lighten the general expense of the voyage. After much conversation, however, on the subject, and after several estimates had been read, it was resolved, that a ship belonging to the Society would furnish the more eligible conveyance.

In the mean while the committee, ever attentive to the interests of the Society, inquired whether it might not be practicable to diminish the expense of the mission in a vessel of their own, by procuring from Government a cargo of stores to Port Jackson, and a returning freight from the East India Company, by leaving the direct course and

touching at Bengal; but as they were proceeding in their inquiries, a providential circumstance occurred which decided for them, and left them no alternative. At that moment Government wanted transports to carry stores to Port Jackson; but the directors having no vessel ready, could make no tender, nor could the contracts of Government be delayed till the Society had made their arrangements. They were also informed, that no stores would be sent thither again, for at least nine months. Thus commercial objects were excluded from the commencement of this important mission; and they determined at once upon the purchase of a vessel of their own. On more mature deliberation, this measure was deemed not merely superior to any other, but absolutely necessary to the prompt and efficient accomplishment of their enterprise. On any other plan it was feared, that after the immense pains already taken, the large funds raised, and the number of missionaries accepted, their efforts might prove abortive, the expectation of subscribers be disappointed, the flame of missionary zeal quenched, and the affairs of the society be reduced to the same uncertainty as when they first commenced the formation of their arrangements. By this measure, on the other hand, within a few days or weeks at most, a ship might be procured, and, at a period not distant, the missionaries might take their departure from England, and bear with them, over the mighty ocean, the treasures of the everlasting gospel.

By this method it was further conceived, that the number of the missionaries might be increased to the extent of the supply of proper persons, with a very small increase of expense to the Society—the articles of their equipment, and their provision on the voyage, being the principal source of additional expenditure. But another singular advantage of this plan, was the uncontrolled power which the Society would possess over the vessel, which could be wholly appropriated to this grand object, till the missionaries appeared to be securely settled. She could, with a large body of missionaries, be employed in visiting, and leaving labourers in, the islands contiguous to Otaheite, or in the vast group of the Friendly Islands, or at the Marquesas, in all of which the

wants were equally great, and the prospects equally flattering. In this way it was considered, that the work would be more effectually done, their efforts much more extended, and more good realized at once, and by a single voyage, than by repeated hasty visits, in vessels devoted to the eager pursuits of commerce.

The result of these considerations, was, the adoption of a resolution, "That a vessel should be provided, and navigated by a serious captain and crew; containing accommodation for thirty missionaries or more, exclusive of women and children." The measure was brought forward at the second General Meeting; and so convinced was that meeting, that the missionaries intended for Otaheite, could not be conveyed thither with any propriety—if at all—but in a vessel belonging to the Society; and perceiving how easily missions might be established in other islands of the South Seas, by adopting this mode of conveyance, they unanimously concurred in the previous views of the Directors, and resolved, "That a Mission be undertaken to Otaheite, the Friendly Islands, the Marquesas, the Sandwich Islands, and the Pelew Islands, in a ship belonging to the Society, to be commanded by Captain Wilson, as far as may be practicable and expedient." The direction, however, was not unanimous in their approval of this comprehensive and noble resolution; but it received the strenuous support of the Scotch members, and there is reason to believe, that it was mainly carried by their decided and determined adherence to it.*

From this time the mercantile directors were diligently

* "A considerable number of very respectable Directors of the Society were disinclined to the South Sea Mission, and wholly averse from the employment of a ship for that purpose. They acquiesced in the wish of the majority, only after demonstration, from charts constructed for the purpose on larger scales than any that had been published, of the vast number of islands to which such a voyage might be instrumental of extending Christianity. Unless all these groups had been included in the Resolution, every Scotch Director, especially, would have protested against it; and two Missionaries from Scotland were to have embarked for the Pelew Islands. They, however, were not in readiness; and more recent accounts of several murders at the Sandwich Islands, afforded ground for excluding that group also; but any further limitation of the objects of the voyage would grossly have infringed upon the compromise which alone had sanctioned the expense of its equipment."—Greatheed's MS. Notes.

employed in looking out for a suitable vessel. After several abortive attempts to accomplish their object, the Duff was offered to their service. The price demanded for her—£5000—caused considerable hesitation. But when they contemplated the advance of the season, and the danger of sailing at an improper time, and without convoy, the difficulty of meeting with a vessel in all respects fit for their purpose, the rapid rise in the price of ships, by reason of the great number of transports continually employed by Government; and above all, when they considered the superior excellence of the Duff, the amplitude of her accommodations, and the probability that the voyage, in such a ship, would be more safe and speedy, they immediately, at the strong recommendation of the professional men who had been consulted, ordered the bargain to be closed. With a view to the utmost economy in the administration of the Society's funds, the Directors resolved to endeavour to lighten the heavy expense incurred in the purchase of the vessel, in the stores and equipment, yet without the least infringement on the sacred service to be performed. It appeared to them, that, after the missionaries had been distributed over the islands, and had received all proper attention, the voyage might be profitably terminated by the Duff passing onward to China or Bengal, and procuring a freight homeward from the East India Company. Application, therefore, was instantly made to its Directors, who considered, and politely granted, the petition. Though the Duff was of a size very much inferior to the vessels commonly employed in their service, the Company were pleased to give the society a charter-party, with a freight of three hundred tons, at the war price of £16 per ton, and with the usual allowance of half, for as many tons above three hundred as she should be able to bring. The obligation of the Duff was, to be at Canton on or before January 18, 1798; but lest the welfare of the mission should make a longer detention at the islands necessary, the Company generously extended the charter-party to the November following.

The economical prudence and precautions of the Directors did not terminate with the wise measure above stated. In

order to secure a certain return of part of the expenses, in the event of wreck or capture, it was deemed proper to insure her to the extent of £6000. At that perilous period, the lowest terms of insurance were ten guineas per cent., so that six hundred guineas would have been necessary to cover the sum already mentioned. But here again the liberality of a portion of the Christian public came to the rescue of the funds. An insurance, to the amount of £3000, was made at a penny per cent.—a merely nominal sum to give validity to the obligation of the bond. In case of loss, some became responsible for £50; some for £100; and others for £200 each. It is also due to the honour of the commerce of England to state, that after the policy had been opened for the voyage, at the premium of one penny per cent., and subscribed by several of the Directors, a number of underwriters, unconnected with the Society, but approving the humanity of the design, generously rendered it their assistance. Men, indeed, of every class combined to wish them God-speed.

In the month of June, 1796, the Directors had circulated a long list of articles necessary for the missionaries after their settlement, for barter with the natives, and gifts to the chiefs. The response to this was a shower of presents to the amount of several thousands of pounds—some of them from public bodies, such as the Apothecaries' Company and the Humane Society. It is finally grateful to record the spontaneous kindness of all persons in public offices with whom the Directors had necessary intercourse. A difficulty arose respecting the registration of the ship, as she belonged to no individual, and at the same time to no chartered body; but the Board of Trade, and the Board of Customs, in the most friendly manner, met the application, and facilitated the clearance of the ship. Nor would an individual person receive a farthing for any fees of office—a fact, perhaps, without parallel in the history of our country; nor did they suffer the Directors to experience a moment's delay, but despatched their business with the utmost promptitude and cheerfulness. The Lords of the Admiralty appropriately

close the bright roll of benefactors. Their lordships granted protections for the seamen of the Duff, in the most courteous manner, and one of them, happening to come on shore, having been pressed and sent on board a tender, on application, an order was issued for his immediate liberation.

CHAPTER V.

REMARKABLE HISTORY OF CAPTAIN WILSON.

His Birth—Professional Training—Services in America—Danger at Sea—Condition of Sir Eyre Coote—Perilous Service—Singular Events—Wilson made a Prisoner of War—Baseness of Suffrein—Attempts of Wilson to Escape—The Coleroon—Efforts in Swimming—Mysterious Passage—Retaken by Hyder's Horsemen—Horrid Cruelties—Cruelties of a Prison—Serious Malady—Liberation—Dangers from Food—Arrival at Madras—Mortality at Puley Bay—Sudden Death—Fortunate Occurrence—Return to England—Conversion—Offer of Service—Appointment and Preparation.

The extraordinary man, who was honoured to conduct the first heralds of salvation to the islands of the Southern Pacific, is entitled to great prominence in the history of the Mission. To show how eminently he was qualified, and how obviously he was called of heaven to the glorious enterprise, it is only necessary to recite the main facts of his life.

He was born October 18, 1760, and might be said to have been rocked and dandled on the ocean, for his father, the commander of a ship in the Newcastle trade, trained him from childhood to his own profession. He served in the American war of independence, and shared in the disastrous battles of Bunker's Hill and Long Island. On returning to England, he sailed to Bengal as mate of an Indiaman, and, quitting his ship, he resided in the country, and engaged in its service. Here he encountered more than the usual share of danger. In one of his voyages, Cabel, the marine paymaster, sailing with him from Madras to Calcutta, was so satisfied with his conduct, that he formed a strong personal attachment to him. One of the first fruits and proofs of that predilection, was the paymaster's sending him, shortly after their arrival in Bengal, in a vessel to the Nicobar Islands, with despatches for the ships returning from the East, to apprize them of the arrival of a French squadron on the coast, and to put them on their guard.

This ship was in a condition so wretched, that it was with difficulty she was prevented from foundering. He was, therefore, obliged to run for Madras, and, seeing the French fleet sailing down the coast of Pulicat, he expected them to chase, and pressed with all sail for the shore, where a dangerous shoal probably prevented pursuit and capture. The ship, however, was so leaky, that he was constrained to run her on the beach to save the lives of his crew.

He proceeded thence to Madras, and arrived at the critical moment when the settlement was in the utmost distress. Sir Eyre Coote had marched southward, and was so surrounded by Hyder Ali's troops, that no supplies could reach him by land; and the French squadron anchoring at Pondicherry, as effectually cut off all supplies by sea. Thus encompassed on all sides, the British forces had full before them the terrible alternative of destruction by famine, or cutting their way through the ranks of a powerful enemy. Several Pia ships had been loaded with rice at Madras, for their use, but as the French fleet lay directly in their path, they dared not attempt the passage to Cudalore, which was near the encampment. The Governor of Madras, hearing of Wilson, sent for him, and inquired if he would engage in the perilous attempt to carry down the ships with the supplies for the English camp, and offering him a large sum for the service. The dauntless youth at once agreed to the proposal, and, with the intrepidity of a hero, made immediate preparations for his departure. The vessel in which he embarked was about five hundred tons burthen; and he had three others under his command, all navigated by blacks. He proceeded as far as Sadras, a distance of about sixteen leagues, where he took refuge under the Dutch flag, and despatched two Hircarrahs to Sir Eyre Coote, to apprize him of his approach and receive his orders. The roads, however, were so infested with Hyder's horse, that the Hircarrahs were obliged to take a wide circuit; and, as they ventured to travel only by night, they did not return till after an absence of eleven days. The orders of the General were to proceed at all hazards, and without a moment's delay; adding, that if the captain brought only one vessel,

and lost the rest, it would be of the most essential service. Wilson immediately weighed, and advanced towards Pondicherry, intending, at a proper distance, from the mast-head to espy the French flag, and, if possible, to pass them undiscovered in the night. Through a singular circumstance, the passage was open. The French Commander had sent his water-casks on shore to be filled, when a corps of Sir Eyre Coote's grenadiers and light infantry staved and entirely destroyed them. This act induced the French to run down to Point de Gall, to repair the loss, at the very moment when Captain Wilson passed in the offing. The French ships, from their superior swiftness, were off Cuddalore in the morning, and those of Captain Wilson arrived in the afternoon, richly laden with food for an almost famishing army; for it had been reduced to its last forty-five bags of paddy, and not one grain of rice was to be procured. This timely supply saved a brave army, and, through them, the Carnatic. The next day, Captain Wilson, being invited to dine with the general and his staff, was placed at the general's right hand, and received the most cordial acknowledgments for his important services. This heroic feat produced him the sum of about one thousand pounds, besides the high testimony of the general to his merits.

Returning to Bengal, he continued to be employed in these perilous services, till, proceeding with a valuable cargo of military stores for Sir Edward Hughes, he was at length captured by the French, and carried into Cuddalore, which they had taken. Here he found the crew of the Hannibal in the same captivity. He was permitted, however, with other officers to be at large on his parole; and he hoped shortly to be exchanged. The barbarous Hyder had at that time overrun and desolated the greater part of the Carnatic; and, aided by the French, after taking Cuddalore, he hoped to expel the English from the entire territory. He had bribed Suffrein, the French commander, with three hundred thousand rupees, to deliver up to him the whole of the prisoners at Cuddalore. The order to this effect being communicated to the officer who commanded the fort, nothing could exceed the rage and grief that he and his officers

testified at such an infamous bargain. This brave and honourable man, however, dared not disobey the atrocious orders of his superior; he nevertheless humanely apprized the gentlemen on parole of the transaction, and of the hard necessity which was laid upon him of delivering them up the next day to the escort appointed to carry them to Seringapatam. Hyder's object was to tempt the English to enter into his service, or to regale his inhuman malignity by subjecting them to a lingering mortal torture. On receiving the sad intelligence, Captain Wilson determined, before the rise of the morrow's sun, to attempt escape from a captivity, which to his generous mind was more terrible than death. He had observed, as he walked the ramparts, the possibility of dropping down into the river; and, though he neither knew the height of the wall, nor the breadth of the streams which had to be crossed, before he could reach a neutral settlement, he determined to seize the moment and to risk the consequences, with whatever difficulty or danger they might be attended. He communicated his resolution to his brother officer, and a Bengalese boy, his servant; both of whom determined to accompany him in his flight.

It was agreed to meet on the rampart just before the guard was set, at twilight, and silently to drop down from the battlement. Before the eventful hour, however, the heart of his companion failed him; but about seven o'clock the resolute captain, with his poor boy Toby, softly ascended the rampart. The captain, leaping down, fortunately pitched on his feet, but the shock of so great a descent, about forty feet, doubled his frame; his chin struck against his knees, and he tumbled headlong into the river, which passed at the foot of the wall. On recovering, he hastened to the foot of the battlement, where there was a dry bank; he then bade the boy drop down, and caught him safe in his arms.

Now commenced a series of afflictions which have had few parallels even in the history of maritime disaster. The whole of that section of the Tanjore country is low, and intersected with a number of rivers branching off from the great Coleroon—all of which it became necessary to cross.

Then it was he made the vexatious discovery that the boy could not swim. With the characteristic generosity of a British seaman, he nevertheless determined not to leave the youth behind. Being himself an excellent swimmer, he carried the lad up on his back over three successive rivers. While pushing on towards Porto Nouvo, making the best use of the night, since their hope of safety chiefly depended upon the distance they could reach before the rising sun, a sepoy sentry challenged, Who goes there? They made no reply, but shrunk back, and concealed themselves, turning down the river side, which at that place was of great breadth, and, being near the sea, the tide rushed in with great rapidity. The valiant Captain, however, once more took the poor boy on his back, bidding him be sure to hold only by his hands, and cast his legs behind him; and thus he plunged into the mighty stream. But when they reached the breakers, the youth was appalled by a sense of danger, and clung so fast around the Captain as almost to sink him. After a fearful struggle with the waves he returned to the shore, clearly perceiving that they must perish together if they thus proceeded. Therefore setting the boy safe on land, and ordering him to find his way back to Dr. Mein, who would take care of him, as delay was death to himself, he once more plunged into the stream, and, bravely buffeting the billows, made for the opposite shore; but the tide was running in with such strength, that, in spite of his efforts, it carried him along, and at a considerable distance constrained him again to return to the same side of the river. On landing he discovered by the light of the moon, dry on the beach, a canoe, which he eagerly seized, and was dragging it down to the river, when two black men rushed upon him, and demanded whither he was going with the boat. The Captain seized the outrigger of the canoe as his only weapon of defence against the paddles, which they had secured, and told them he had lost his way; that he had urgent business at Tranquebar, and thither he must and was determined to go, and, with all his remaining strength, launching the canoe into the river, the benevolent Indians laid down their paddles on the shafts, and rowed him to the opposite shore.

In return he gave them all he had—his hearty thanks—and springing on the beach, with all his might he hastened forward. Having yet as great a distance to pass to the Coleroon as he had already travelled, he pressed on at the utmost speed under the guidance of the moon, that walked in her brightness, and at length before break of day he reached the largest arm of the river, of which those that he had crossed were branches.

At this awful moment the youthful Captain presented a sublime and touching spectacle, as, exhausted with the fatigues he had already endured, and dismayed by this mighty stream, he gazed upon the expanse of its waters. He stood hesitating and shuddering on its brink, but the approach of morn and the danger which pressed behind him, soon put a stop to his dreadful meditations; he rushed into the flood, and made for the shore. This was a strange and mysterious passage. How long he was in crossing he could not tell, for somewhere about the centre of the river he dashed against the mast of a ship or a great tree, floating with the stream. On this welcome buoy, which was surely sent him of heaven, he reclined his weary hands and head; and in that fearful position he thought he must have slept by the way, from some confused remembrance he had as of a person awaking from a state of insensibility, and which he supposed must have lasted at least half an hour. Leaving his friendly float, he pushed on and reached the land, just in time to be taken prisoner! Rejoicing in the thought and hope that all his dangers were past, and his liberty secured, and deeming the price at which it was purchased not too great, he passed a jungle, and ascended a sand-bank, when, to his unutterable confusion, he perceived a party of Hyder's horse scouring the coast! Discovering him, they galloped up, and in a moment seized and stripped him naked. They tied his hands behind his back, fastened a rope to them, and thus drove him before them as a wild beast of the jungle, to head quarters, several miles distant, under a burning sun, and covered with blisters. He considered that he had gone that day and night not less than forty miles, besides all the rivers he had crossed. What labour, danger, and mortifi-

cation, these twenty-four hours beheld! But this was only the beginning of his sorrows—the mere prelude to his complicated calamities!

The officer at the head-quarters was a Mahometan, one of Hyder's chieftains. He questioned the poor prisoner closely as to his person, history, and destination. The Captain gave him a full account of his escape with the reasons of it, and all the circumstances attending his flight. The enraged Moorman looked at him, and said, "That is a lie, as no man ever yet passed the Coleroon by swimming, for, if he had but dipped the tip of his fingers in it, the alligators would have seized him." The brave mariner reasserted the fact, and presented evidence so indubitable as to remove all doubt; when the warrior, raising both his hands, exclaimed, "This is God's man!"

The bravery, however, which ought to have moved sympathy, and awakened admiration, only excited malignity. The magnanimous captive was immediately marched back to the place of his former confinement, where he was refused permission to join his fellow officers, and thrust into a dungeon among the lowest class of prisoners. Such merit was too much for Hyder to endure; it must, therefore, be put to the torture. The Captain, accordingly, next day, chained to a common soldier, almost famished, and nearly naked, was led out to march on foot to Seringapatam, in that scorching clime, a distance of five hundred miles. The officers beheld his forlorn and woful condition with deep commiseration, which was rendered increasingly pungent by their inability to procure him any redress. They, nevertheless, did all that they could to alleviate what they could not extinguish. One gave him a shirt, another a vest, another stockings and shoes; thus he was equipped with a few comforts for his laborious and afflictive journey—comforts soon to be surrendered to his brutal conductors, who speedily stripped him to the skin, and left him only a sorry rag to wrap around his middle. In this deplorable condition, chained to another fellow-sufferer, under the destructive rays of a vertical sun, with only a scanty provision of rice, he travelled naked and barefooted a distance of five hundred miles, insulted by the

ruffians who goaded them on all day, and at night thrust them into a damp, unwholesome prison, thronged with objects of misery.

On their way, they were brought into Hyder's hateful presence, when they were urged to enlist in his service, and profess his religion as the price of personal liberty. These inhuman severities had been practised preparatory to this inglorious proposal, and practised with success upon some, who consented to the insulting terms. The noble youth, however, rejected them with scorn. As a loyal and high-principled Englishman, he found it impossible to bear arms against his country, and, although he knew not God, yet he preferred death in its direst forms to Mahometanism. Such virtue tended further to exasperate. A variety of indignities were, therefore, heaped upon him in the course of his march, in addition to afflictions of a more serious character. Indeed the journey, considered as a whole, is entitled to a foremost place in the annals of inhumanity. Day by day was he exposed to the scorching rays of a burning sun, and night by night, as already stated, was he incarcerated in the cells of a damp and dreary dungeon. This alone sufficed to have cut him off; but to this must be added the fact of his being wholly destitute of clothing—literally naked; and with only a mere morsel of unsuitable food. A dangerous flux was the consequence; and his arrival alive at Seringapatam, all things considered, is little short of a miracle.

When the Captain had reached his destination, he had not by any means attained to the climax of his calamities. Miseries far greater still awaited him. Naked, diseased, and half-starved, he was thrust into a noisome dungeon, without food or medicine, in sorrowful fellowship with no fewer than one hundred and fifty-three fellow-sufferers, chiefly Scotch Highlanders, of Colonel Macleod's regiment, men of gigantic size and vigour. The very irons which Colonel Bailey had worn—weighing thirty-two pounds—were fastened on him. This relentless rigour was the punishment of his laudable attempt to escape, and of his virtuous and patriotic refusal of Hyder's terms. The other officers were at large, but the Captain was imprisoned among the

common soldiers, and even chained to one of them night and day. It is hardly possible adequately to express the scenes of unvaried and unmitigated misery which he endured in this horrid place—this Indian purgatory!

The prison was a square, in the middle of which was a covered place open on all sides, exposed to the wind and the rain, the storm and the tempest. There, with no bed but the cold earth, no covering but the rag wrapped around the middle of his emaciated and disordered frame, he and the poor wretch to whom he was chained, were often so cold that they dug a hole in the earth, and buried themselves in it, as a defence from the blasts of the night. A pound of rice, per man, was the whole of their daily allowance, and one pice a day, less than a penny, to provide salt, and fire to cook it. In this deplorable condition, it was among their eager occupations to collect the white ants, which pestered them in the prison, and fry them to procure a spoonful or two of their buttery substance. Their wretched pittance never sufficed to appease the raging of their hunger. The quality of their rice was as bad as its measure was defective; it was so full of stones that he could not chew, but was compelled to swallow it. So ravenous at times was his appetite that he was afraid to trust his fingers in his mouth lest he should be tempted to bite them! The rice was brought in a large bowl; and, that none might take more than his share, the prisoners had a small piece of wood rudely formed into a spoon, which each used in his turn; and so excruciating was the agony of hunger, that Captain Wilson's jaws often snapped the spoon as if forced together by a spring.

It deserves remark that the noble and athletic Highlanders were the earliest victims of this system of homicide. Their numbers were daily diminished by the flux and the scurvy. Often was the dead corpse unchained from Wilson's arm in the morning that another living sufferer might take its place, in like manner to fall and be removed. The Captain stood out long, and enjoyed a measure of health beyond all his fellows. His day, however, drew on. He was at length seized with the usual symptoms, which had terminated so fatally in many others. His body was enormously

distended; his thighs, as big as his waist, had previously been; and his face dreadfully bloated. Death seemed to have laid his iron grasp upon his vitals. He was now reduced to a state of awful extremity. His chains became too strait to be endured by his bursting frame, which threatened speedy mortification. The hour of his departure was apparently at hand; and he was released from his irons that he might lie down and die! The soldier to whom he had been last chained, had served him with great affection, whilst others, who had been linked together, often quarrelled, and, maddened by their individual sufferings, awfully blasphemed their God, and aggravated each other's wretchedness. The sympathetic soldier, seeing the Captain apparently near his end, proposed to spend for oil the daily pice—about three farthings—to anoint his legs, thinking it might alleviate his pain; but the sufferer objected that he should then have nothing to purchase firing and salt to cook the next day's provisions. The soldier shook his head, and said, "Master, before that, I fear you will be dead, and never want it." But he was "God's man;" and the path of life yet stretched far before him. He had providentially exchanged his allowance of rice that day, for a small species of grain, called *ratche pier,* which he eagerly devoured, and being parched with thirst, he drank the liquor in which it was boiled. This most unexpectedly proved a remedy of prodigious potency. In the space of a few hours, the swelling of his legs, thighs, and body, was so reduced, that, from being ready to burst, he became a mere skeleton; and, though much weakened, he was quite relieved. The same means, thus according to appearance accidentally employed, were afterwards used with the like success by his fellow-prisoners. Despotic barbarity, which knows no mercy, forthwith replaced his iron fetters, which it was found difficult to fix, for so completely was he reduced to mere skin and bone, that they would slip over his knees, and leave his legs at liberty.

The ranks of this tortured fellowship, became at length greatly thinned through the ravages of death; only a few remained the living monuments of Hyder Ali's malignant cruelty; and a few months more would probably have

gathered the broken remnant to the sepulchres of their brethren, had not Sir Eyre Coote, by his victories, happily humbled the tyrant, and compelled his reluctant submission to the release of the British captives as one of the conditions of peace. On the arrival of the jubilee, Mr. Law, son of the Bishop of Carlisle, the friend and patron of the illustrious Paley, somewhat appropriately arrived, announcing deliverance to the Captives, setting at liberty them that were bruised, and soothing the broken-hearted. The doors of the prison-house flew open at his approach, and its dreadful secrets were revealed! Of one hundred and fifty-three as brave men as ever embarked for a foreign shore, there remained only thirty-two, naked, emaciated, half-famished, and covered with ulcers. Their humane deliverer promptly supplied all their necessities, but this supply was attended with great peril. Their ravenous appetites could neither be restrained nor satisfied. Caution and warning were lost upon them. Long famished nature despised the rules of prudence, and was deaf to the voice of reason. The poor Captain had a large piece of beef assigned him, the greater part of which he speedily devoured, placing the remainder under his pillow, with the intention to finish it the moment he awoke. The result of this indiscretion proved all but fatal. That night he was seized with a violent fever; he became delirious, and for two weeks his life was despaired of; but he who had great things in store for him, at length "rebuked the fever, and it left him."

On his recovery, he proceeded with his countrymen to Madras. A supply of clothes had been forwarded to meet them; there not being a sufficiency for all, some had one article and some another. A very large military hat fell to the captain's share, which, with a banyn and pantaloons, with many a breach in them, gave to his meagre figure a very singular appearance. Recovering a portion of his characteristic energy, and impatient to revisit his friends, he pressed on from the last halting place, and had some difficulty in getting past the sentries. On reaching the house of Mr. Ellis, he inquired of the servants for their master and mis-

tress. The footmen stared at him, said they were not at home, and were shutting the door in his face, when he pressed in, rushed by them, and threw himself down on a sofa. The servants fortunately were Mahometans, who hold the insane in much reverence. They supposed the Captain to be labouring under this calamity, and used no violence to remove him. He was, therefore, suffered to repose in quiet, and being overcome with fatigue he fell into a profound sleep—a state in which his friends on their return found him, and so greatly was he altered that they scarcely recognised him. They left him to sleep on till the evening, when the lustres were lighted, and several friends were assembled, curious to hear the story of his captivity. When he awoke amidst a glare of light, and a circle of people, he was confounded for a moment, and felt like a man under the power of enchantment.

Mr. Wilson soon after shipped himself as first mate of the Intelligence, Captain Penington, for Bencoolen and Batavia. During this voyage, the white ants and cockroaches, with other insects, multiplied in a manner so prodigious, that it was resolved to run the ship down from Bencoolen to Puley Bay, and lay her completely under water, to get rid of the vermin. Bencoolen was a most unhealthy place, but Puley Bay was the region of the shadow of death, subjecting to putrid fever all who had the hardihood or the folly to breathe its pestilential air. Before they left the Bay, all the European portion of the crew, with the exception of Wilson, died. Captain Penington himself came down well on Christmas-day, dined on board, returned the same night, and next day sickened and died. The very day they sailed out of the harbour, Wilson, who, as first mate, now commanded the vessel, was attacked with fever. One European, a Swede, who yet remained, was at the helm, and Wilson, who notwithstanding his illness kept the deck, perceiving the vessel to be very badly steered, called out. The poor Swede quitted the helm, and sat down on the hen-coop. Wilson ran to the wheel to rectify the course, indignant at the man who had left it, little suspecting the real cause.

The Swede made no reply, but the reason of his conduct was readily apprehended, when Wilson, on walking up to the hen-coop, found him a corpse!

Amid dangers and death, the brave navigator went on improving his fortune, till he came to possess both a share in the vessel, and the command of her. The concluding events of his maritime history in the East are in accordance with all that preceded them. He was lying at anchor in port, with his vessel freighted and ready for sea, where he and many others had been for some time wind-bound; and while on shore, spending the evening with a number of the merchants and captains, something occurred to provoke him. Under this excitement, he silently withdrew from the company, and, instead of sleeping on shore as others did, and as he proposed to have done, he called a boat, and went out to his ship, intending to sleep on board; but shortly after he ascended the vessel, about midnight, while the other captains were carrying on their carousals, the wind shifted direct round. He immediately weighed anchor and sailed out of the harbour, and enjoyed a fair wind for a length of time sufficient to pass down the river and get a good offing. Before the other ships could get out of the river, the wind resumed its former position, and drove them back to their anchorage. When Captain Wilson reached his destined port, the markets were much in want of the articles with which his ship was freighted, and there being no merchant to share the advantage with him, he obtained his own price for the larger portion of his cargo. For the same reason, the articles with which he freighted his vessel back were cheap; and having loaded, he returned to the port whence he had sailed, after a month's absence, and found the vessels that he had left still wind-bound. Here, too, for obvious reasons, he obtained a ready and advantageous sale for his goods. By the double profits of this favourable voyage, he obtained a fortune sufficient, with what he had previously realized, to induce retirement from the toils and dangers of the ocean. He therefore resolved to return to England, that he might recover health, and, as he considered, enjoy life.

It now appears to have been a somewhat remarkable cir-

cumstance, that Captain Wilson should have embarked as a passenger to England in the same ship with the excellent Mr. Thomas, the Baptist Missionary, to whom this work has already borne an honourable testimony. With this good man the Captain had frequent disputes about religion. He viewed the Missionary with contempt, as a weak, well-meaning, but deluded man, little dreaming of the exalted rank which awaited himself as a promoter of missionary enterprise, and of the devoted zeal with which he would embrace the cause of Christ among the heathen. Such, indeed, was the recklessness of his conduct, and the boldness of his avowal of infidel principles, that Mr. Thomas declared he should have much more hope of converting the Lascars than Captain Wilson, to Christianity.

He arrived safely at Portsmouth, and purchased a residence at Horndean, Hampshire, about ten miles from Portsea. Being unmarried, he procured a niece to superintend his household, a lady of piety, and connected with a Christian Church in Portsea. He made no objection, however, to her religious principles and habits, but said, she might do as she pleased, if she did not trouble him. Her residence under his roof was one link in the mysterious chain which brought him to God; another was his vicinity to the residence of Captain Sims, a man who feared the Lord greatly, and who belonged to Mr. Griffin's Church. Thus was the Captain casually brought into contact with Mr. Griffin, to whom, under God, he owed his conversion, and with whom he formed a most endeared friendship of twenty years' duration,—a friendship which terminated only with life. Such are the main facts of the history of this extraordinary man, up to the period of his assuming the command of the Duff to the islands of the South Seas. It only remains, therefore, to detail the facts which relate to that important event.

On one day, receiving the Evangelical Magazine, his thoughts were powerfully arrested by the statement of a design to form a Missionary Society in London, and to send the Gospel to the Islands of the Pacific Ocean. The inquiry at once darted into his mind: "If you are wanted to com-

mand the expedition, have you faith to sacrifice all the comforts around you, and, freely devoting yourself to the service, could you embark once more on the deep, not to increase your substance, but to seek the souls redeemed by the blood of the Lamb?" He felt at that moment he could do it with pleasure; he was conscious that his faith was equal to the sacrifice; and that, if called in providence, he could give himself up to the service of God in this work of love and mercy.

He shortly after consulted some judicious friends, who, perhaps thinking he had endured his share of perils on the ocean, rather discouraged him. He then attended, in company with Mr. Griffin his pastor, a general meeting of the Hampshire Association of Ministers, held at Salisbury, to consider the subject of the formation of a Missionary Society. There, too, he mentioned to some of the brethren the impression that rested on his mind. They also rather dissuaded than encouraged the idea, perhaps not considering it probable that a ship would be employed solely for that purpose. He next accompanied Mr. Griffin to London, to attend the First General Meeting, at which the Society was formed. He heard the various addresses and discourses, pleased with all, but especially with those of Dr. Haweis. He desired Mr. Griffin to call upon the Doctor, and to appoint an interview. It took place; and the Captain told the Doctor, with great modesty and diffidence, but with much manly decision, that if the Society could not find a better conductor—which he wished and hoped they might—the work should not be impeded for want of nautical skill, since he was ready, without any other reward than the satisfaction resulting from the service, to devote himself to the enterprise, with whatever inconvenience to himself it might be attended. The Doctor was quite captivated with him, and gave generous expression to his feelings at the last meeting on that great occasion, in the following terms:—"I may speak with confidence, where my brethren are all so unanimous in opinion, that a man more highly qualified for this work could not be hoped for, if we had the choice of the whole land. In all his manners a gentleman—a mien that is commanding—an age

yet in the prime of vigour, with the maturity of experience —and withal, an amiability of diffidence, in offering himself, that seemed only conquerable by the calls of the Mission, and the deep impressions resting on his own heart. I confess I have been so struck with the circumstance, and many other particulars I could mention, that I know not where to close."

This admirable man and skilful mariner was next introduced to the Directors, when he nobly declared, that, though he hoped they might still find an abler commander, and, in that case, he might be excused, and his heart be at rest; yet, if they could not, he pledged himself to do his best for the Mission, and declared himself ready the moment he should be wanted. The impression in his favour was strong and general; it seemed to all that no person could be more eminently qualified for the discharge of this important service than the man so providentially prepared for them.

It has been already stated, that the Directors, after much judicious inquiry and careful consideration, resolved to have a ship of their own, and that the command should be assigned to Captain Wilson; and also that the Second General Meeting, held in May, 1796, confirmed the resolutions of the Directors. Captain Wilson was then desired to come to town, that he might take part in the necessary preparations. Not less than seven or eight times did he go up and down at his own expense, between Horndean and the Metropolis—a distance of sixty miles. He was the principal person to search out and purchase the vessel; he engaged the mariners, and arranged everything in his own department. He then sold his house at Horndean, he settled all his affairs, and duly provided for so long an absence, with its serious contingencies; he finally fixed his niece in London, and made all ready to embark at the time appointed.

"Through the whole of his eventful story, we discover a beautiful and admirable development of the leadings of Divine Providence. Who would have looked for a commander of a Christian Mission in an impious and infidel sailor, chained in a prison at Seringapatam? Who would have expected to have found the man who returned from

India contradicting and blaspheming the faithful leader in the Missionary cause, within five years afterwards, on the quarter-deck, in the midst of prayer and praise, carrying the everlasting gospel to the isles of the Pacific Ocean? Who that reads the history of his eventful life, can hesitate to confirm the exclamation of the Moor-man, 'This is God's man!' "*

* See Griffin's Memoirs of Captain James Wilson, p. 146; a publication admirably adapted for Sunday-school libraries, and for a present to youth.

CHAPTER VI.

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE DIRECTORS TO CAPTAIN WILSON.

Providence acknowledged—Wilson's Service—Honourable Office—Importance of the Object—Powers and Duties—Orders relative to Provisions—Cape Horn—Resolution respecting the Mission—Plan of Procedure in respect of settling the Missionaries—Appointment of a Committee—Conditions to be adjusted with the Chiefs—Instructions relative to China, and the Voyage home.

"The constant protection with which it has pleased the Divine Being to favour the concerns of the Missionary Society, renders it incumbent on us, before we enter on the immediate subject of our address to you, to make an humble and undissembled acknowledgment of the gratitude which is due to Him, and to recognise with thankfulness the frequent and manifest interpositions of his hand in favour of this institution.

"Among many other occurrences which have appeared to us of a nature peculiarly providential, and which we have considered as the proofs of the condescending care with which it has pleased the great Head of the church to regard this undertaking, there has been none that excited more gratitude to his name, or occasioned more universal satisfaction among ourselves, than the circumstance of your having been inclined to consecrate yourself to the service of God on this interesting occasion. We trust that the same Being, from whom the disposition has proceeded, will impart the grace which is requisite to accomplish the arduous service, and inspire the wisdom which is needful for the execution of its important duties.

"Connected with us in the direction of the affairs of the Society, you are fully apprized of the nature and design of the expedition you have undertaken to conduct. You are aware that it is not only in its nature singular, and almost without a precedent, but that it is also one of the most

honourable and most important services which can be confided to a human being.

"The attention of the Christian world is very generally excited to the object, and devout intercessions are continually ascending like incense to heaven for its success. Should it be favoured with the blessing of God, it may be the direct means of imparting divine light and eternal life to great multitudes of immortal beings, and may form an era of distinguished importance in the history of human redemption. In this view of the interesting nature of the business we are engaged in, it is with sincere affection and peculiar satisfaction, that we the Directors of the Institution, not only invest you with the command of the ship, and with full and complete authority for the management of its concerns in relation to the voyage, but also commit to your care and superintendence during the same period, the more important charge of the Mission itself, and especially of those faithful brethren who accompany you therein. Dear to our Saviour, in whose name they go forth, these apostolic men will have a strong interest in your affections also. Having forsaken their friends and their country for the love of Christ, and with the desire of spreading the honours of his name among the heathen, they will seek in your kind attention an equivalent for the endearing connexions they have relinquished, and you will be desirous of extending toward them the wise superintendence of a parent, and the affectionate sympathy of a brother. You will cheer the spirit that is liable to droop under the pressure of its anxieties, or administer the word of admonition to the disciple that is in danger of erring. You will be among them the centre of union, to reconcile their divisions, and confirm their love—the universal friend, in whose bosom they will deposit their diversified cares.

"As it is needful you should be furnished with instructions both with respect to the voyage itself, and also with relation to the establishment of the Mission, it is our duty to desire, that, after having received your cargo on board (an invoice whereof you will be furnished with), and also the missionaries who are to accompany you, whose names and

occupations you will have an account of, you will please to proceed with all possible despatch to Portsmouth, in order to join the East India convoy now lying there, to which you are to attach yourself, and to use every exertion in your power to keep company with it, as far as its course and yours are designed to coincide.

"In case the convoy should stop at Teneriffe, you will procure four pipes of the best wine in hogsheads, for which you will apply to the house of Messrs. Paisley and Little, and reimburse them for the amount by your draft on the Treasurer to the Institution. You will endeavour to procure from thence two or three bunches of dried grapes of the best kind, and the seeds of such tropical fruits as you may think it would be advantageous to take with you. You will also endeavour to procure one ram sheep and two ewes, to be preserved for the purpose of breeding, and also a male and female ass for the same purpose. You will also at this place probably have an opportunity of giving your ship's company and the passengers several meals of fresh meat and vegetables; which, as it will promote their health and comfort, we are well persuaded will not escape your attention. On taking your departure from Teneriffe, we wish you to consider the port of Rio de Janeiro, on the coast of Brazil, as your next object. At that place you will be able to lay in a stock of sugar very cheap, for the use of the ship's company and Missionaries on the voyage, as well as for the latter after they are put on shore; as also tobacco, chocolate, cochineal-plant, and many other vegetable productions useful for consumption and cultivation at the settlement. Here you will also embrace the opportunity to procure a supply of fresh meat and other desirable articles, for the refreshment of the ship's company, at a reasonable rate.

"From this port we wish you to proceed by way of Cape Horn to the Island of Otaheite, there to put in execution the directions which will be hereafter suggested, so far as they may appear to you eligible on your arrival. In the mean time, we think it material to provide against the probability of your meeting with a foul wind in your attempt to double Cape Horn, in which case, after having made the

first attempt as close in with the land as you think consistent with the safety of the ship, we recommend you to stand to the southward, to the distance of at least four or five degrees; when, if you still find the wind blowing steadily against you, rather than lose much time in attempting to beat against it, we advise you to bear up and run for the Cape of Good Hope, where you will find those refreshments which by that time you will stand in need of.

"On your arrival in the South Seas, the destined scene of your benevolent exertions, the immediate prospect of the important service before you will impress your mind with peculiar weight, and you will be anxious to fulfil to the utmost of your power the engagement you have undertaken. You will then recollect that the sphere of your activity is widely extended, and includes a considerable number of different islands remotely situated from each other; you will be reminded that the resolution of the General Meeting was thus expressed:—

"'That a mission be undertaken to Otaheite, the Friendly Islands, the Marquesas, the Sandwich, and the Pelew Islands, in a ship belonging to the Society, to be commanded by Captain Wilson, as far as may be practicable and expedient.' *

"This resolution embraces a plan of great extent and importance, and proceeds from the laudable and benevolent desire of introducing the knowledge of Christ into as many

* "Captain Wilson's sole desire was to fulfil whatever charge was committed to him, without partiality, or regard to his own convenience; but the obvious tenour of those instructions, though somewhat modified from their original, was to dispose him to leave all the Missionaries together at Taheite; which Dr. Haweis regarded as the method that best promised ultimate success, and therein had obtained the concurrence of Mr. Hardcastle, who drew up the instructions to Captain Wilson. Mr. Hardcastle, however, consistently with his characteristic candour and delicacy, sent me a copy of the draft; and in reply, I strongly remonstrated on the subject. The Directors then resolved that my remonstrance also should be sent to Captain Wilson, to whom the final decision should be committed. This step, notwithstanding, would have been frustrated if I had not repaired to the ship while lying at Spithead. Dr. Haweis and myself argued the point, in her cabin, before Captain Wilson, his nephew, and Mr. Reyner, who unanimously concluded on adhering to the original resolution of the Society. After the return of the Duff, Dr. Haweis frankly and publicly retracted his former judgment."—Greatheed's MS. Notes.

different islands as possible; you will therefore consider this resolution as the rule of your conduct, and keep it in your remembrance in all your proceedings. It is not to be departed from without solid and important reasons; for, as the gospel of Christ is a blessing beyond the power of calculation to estimate, the desirableness of sending it to as many islands as possible is in proportion to its inestimable value. We do not mean, however, to encourage you to adopt a system of missionary enterprise beyond the boundaries of discretion; we do not urge you to depart from the principles of prudence and caution which so important an occasion requires; nor, by attempting to introduce the advantages of Christianity in many places, so to divide your numbers, as to weaken your efforts too much in each, and endanger your success in all. The resolution is not intended to prevent a wise and discreet circumspection. It is indeed desirable to introduce the gospel into several islands, but it is necessary, if possible, to establish it in one; for if you concentrate your exertions, and gain a solid establishment in one place, it may become the germ of their missionary efforts, and be a sacred leaven which may gradually spread its beneficial influence through numerous and distant islands of the South Seas. Thus you will perceive, that although the resolution by which you are to endeavour to regulate your operations is of great extent, and highly desirable to be accomplished, yet that it is limited by the considerations of practicability and expedience; and of these you will of necessity be the best qualified to judge.

"The question respecting the practicability of visiting so many distant islands, must be decided by circumstances which it is impossible for us to anticipate; and even to you, when in the South Seas, a mission may appear to be practicable which you nevertheless may not think it expedient to attempt. For instance, the Pelew Islands are the last which, in the order of your voyage, you will have occasion to visit. The character of the natives furnishes a strong inducement to establish a mission among them, and the attempt may also appear to be practicable; but would you think it expedient to take a few missionaries from the islands at a great dis-

tance to windward, at an uncertainty of the reception which a missionary plan might meet with in the former? Suppose that by a new chief having arisen with less favourable dispositions than the father of Lee Boo, or through any other cause, you should be prevented from leaving our brethren there, with perfect satisfaction to yourself and them, what would be the effect? You could not admit of the waste of time and expenditure of money which it would require to convey them to the islands where your other missionaries may have been established, even if your return thither against the trade wind was practicable; and you would probably have no alternative but that of bringing them with you to their native land. The same reasoning may apply with respect to the Sandwich Islands. It is extremely desirable that the blessings of the Christian religion should be extended to those populous regions; but the indubitable accounts which we have lately received of the actual state of those islands, do not permit us to recommend the establishment of a mission among them at present. A variety of considerations will occur to your mind, when you are to decide on what is practicable and expedient. If you look over the inventory of the different articles which make up your cargo, supplied by the liberality of our friends, or furnished from the funds of the Institution, you will probably conclude that they are much more adapted for the co-operation of a number of individuals in one or two societies, than for a distribution among more. When you consider the qualifications of the Missionaries, you will perhaps be inclined to think, that, remaining in one or two bodies, they may form models of civilized society, small indeed, but tolerably complete. There are some among them who are adapted to be useful by the improved state of their minds, and their fitness for taking the lead in religious services; there are others who are necessary on account of the skilfulness of their hands and their knowledge of the useful arts; thus there would be among them that mutual dependence and usefulness which is the cement of the social order.

"If you should separate them into several parties for various missions, it would occur to you that this order and

connexion would be very much broken; and as every mission should contain within itself a competent fund both of divine and human knowledge, you might perhaps find it impracticable to arrange our Missionaries into several parties, and yet preserve among them these indispensable requisites. Among our brethren who accompany you, we trust you will find some who possess a considerable acquaintance with the doctrines of Christianity in their foundation and mutual dependence, and are qualified for the defence and confirmation of the gospel; but others of them have not perhaps a view of the subject sufficiently accurate and enlarged to fit them for the office of teachers. They understand indeed the doctrines of grace in the most precious sense, by experimental conviction; and having a general idea of them, may be very useful to the heathen by means of their conversation, as well as their exemplary lives. But in every mission, however small, it is essential that there should be some whose minds have acquired a maturity in divine things, and who are scribes well instructed in the kingdom of heaven. This it might be difficult for you to accomplish on the plan of establishing a number of different settlements.

"If from these reasons, or others which may arise in your mind when you are amidst the scene of action, you judge that the cause of Christ among the heathen will be best promoted by the establishment of fewer missions,* we shall receive great satisfaction in finding that you are able to visit more islands, with a view to the introduction of the gospel among them at a future period. By means of some of the Europeans now probably residing at Otaheite, who may be disposed to accompany you, your access to the understandings of the islanders will be facilitated: you will easily communicate to them the beneficial plan you are projecting in their favour, and you may ascertain how far a mission to any of them may be advisable. This mode of procedure is highly desirable, as it may throw a considerable light upon our future path, and assist our judgment respect-

* "In this and similar passages, of the original instructions, Taheite alone was recommended, but the alterations were consistent with the sanction which the Directors gave to my remonstrance."—Greatheed's MS. Notes.

ing the designs of Providence toward these islands. It is the more to be recommended on account of the great degree of probability there is of our revisiting them soon after the safe return of our vessel from her present expedition: as it is evident, with the assistance of a freight homeward, the navigation to those seas may be hereafter undertaken at a little comparative expense, and thus opportunities be afforded of frequent intercourse with them. Submitting these considerations to your attention, we now think it necessary to offer you a few more observations derived from the best information we can obtain, and the best judgment we can at present form on the subject: you will adhere to them or not, as you may find it expedient when you arrive.

"It is well known that Otaheite is the island on which the general expectation has been fixed, as the place where our first mission is to be attempted; and we have no reason to alter the opinion we at first entertained of the eligibility of the spot; but, as our object is to introduce the gospel of Christ among the heathen, all partialities or predilections to particular places must be made subservient to that end. We conceive you will visit that island before any other, and you will doubtless have an early interview with the chiefs. It must be left to your own discretion, how far you will unfold to them the occasion of your voyage. You will also probably soon be visited by some Europeans, and will most likely find means to conciliate their esteem and confidence without committing yourself to them any further than you may think prudent. All your discrimination may be requisite to fix on those among them who are best suited to become your instruments; from them you will learn the present state of this island, and perhaps of those adjacent, as to produce, population, disposition of the nations, and political relations. You will be on your guard against misrepresentation, and by comparing different reports find out the truth. You will also guard against treachery and surprise. You will be cautious whom you admit on board; especially you will not allow the females, except the wives of the chiefs, and only a few at a time. Neither would it be prudent to permit too many of the English, if remaining at Otaheite, to be on

board at once. You will take an early opportunity of visiting the smaller peninsula, as it has been represented by some voyagers to be the most fertile, well-cultivated, and abounding with cotton and sugar-cane. Let the ship run down to the adjacent islands of Eimeo; examine the harbours of Taloo and Avoitai; converse with the chiefs; learn the present state of that island, and the dispositions of the inhabitants toward a settlement of some of our brethren among them. After you have ascertained to your satisfaction the kind of treatment which the Missionaries are likely to experience at Otaheite, you will be more capable of judging how to improve the remainder of your voyage, than we are at present. To assist you in the direction of your farther attempts, we recommend to your attentive perusal the papers which have been committed to you, containing a description and historical account of the islands that are connected with Otaheite, or inclosed in the groups called the Friendly Islands, and the Marquesas.* You will compare them on the grounds of immediate advantage and future prospects. To this subject belongs the consideration of the safety of our women, probability of introducing our improvements, supply of provisions, the products of the island in sugar, cotton, sandal-wood, &c. We are thus particular in suggesting these observations to you, because you are much better qualified than we can expect any of the Missionaries to be, to decide on the most eligible spots for our settlement, and it is a circumstance of so much importance as to claim your utmost attention. You will doubtless, on this subject, hold very frequent communications with the Missionaries, and especially with the Committee, stating to them the grounds

* "The Directors having furnished me with all the voyages to the Pacific Ocean that had then been published, with such later verbal accounts as could be obtained, I collected from all those, under the heads of each group, and every island which it was understood to include, every useful topic of information. The great number of volumes through which it was scattered, and the haste with which it was indispensable to prepare the account before the departure of the ship, rendered the task peculiarly and sensibly injurious to my health; but the Missionaries must otherwise have been almost wholly uninformed of the places and the people in which they were so much concerned."—Greatheed's MS. Notes.

on which you may prefer one spot to another, as it would be peculiarly desirable to obtain, if possible, a perfect unanimity of the whole body as to the place of settlement; and the objections of those who may happen to think differently from yourself, or from the majority of their brethren, should be attentively heard and maturely considered. It is, however, very difficult for so many persons to coincide on any subject; and we, therefore, place the power of decision in a majority. As we conclude, that you possess a superior judgment on this subject to any of them, it appears to us to be a regulation highly conducive to their good, that no settlement should be made without your approbation. For the sake of relieving you from some part of the responsibility, we lodge in the same Committee, and subject to the same rule, the power of deciding whether there shall be more missions than one established, and where the subsequent ones shall be attempted.*

"To this committee belongs also, under the same restriction, the control over the articles, implements, and utensils, which make up the cargo of the ship; and they, with your concurrence, are to decide when, where, and in what proportions those articles are to be landed. In case, however, of several missions being attempted, for the sake of strict and impartial justice we appoint that two of the committee shall be taken from those who remain at the first settlement, and two others from those who are intended to be detached to any other; yourself being the president, and perfectly disinterested, will have the power of administering justice towards both. It is, however, intended that a quantity of articles, suitable for presents to the chiefs of islands which you may visit in your way to Canton, should remain on board, and you must have the power of deciding what articles, and what quantity of each, shall be reserved for that purpose.

"To a number of serious Christians, who are on all occa-

* "The establishment of a single Mission would have been so incongruous with the resolution of the Society, as to be altogether unjustifiable previous to visiting more stations, if more were found accessible; but the phraseology indicates the original instructions, notwithstanding, to have been adapted to such a purpose."—Greatheed's MS. Notes.

sions seeking divine direction, it will no doubt occur, that the determination of any question, respecting attempts to extend the gospel, is of such transcendant importance, as to require the most solemn invocation of Him who heareth prayer, for the interposition of his wisdom, to guide you in judgment. An unanimity, or nearly so, of the whole body, on questions so interesting, and which are to be decided after a solemn season of devotion, appointed for that special occasion, would afford considerable satisfaction to our minds, as a favourable intimation of the divine superintendence.

"In negociating with the chiefs, you will explain to them the advantages which will arise to them from our residence among them; that it may be the happy effect of their earnest desire, and not of our solicitation. As an inducement to us to prefer their island, they must give us a full title to the land we may have occasion for, guarantee to us the safety of our property from plunder, the enjoyment of our laws and customs, and the undisturbed exercise of our religion. Instead of exciting the jealousy of the chiefs, by any importunity on our parts to continue with them, it would be more prudent to show a readiness to leave the island and fix upon some other, that it may be understood by them that our inducements to visit them have not been to receive advantages, but to confer them. On this principle, as well as for other reasons, we recommend, that the land should not be purchased, but required as the condition of our remaining with them; and that the presents we make should not be considered as payments, but as gratuities—the expressions and pledges of our good-will. If you should determine to make a settlement at several islands, you and the committee will decide what number, and which individuals, should reside at each. If this should be the occasion of disputes which you cannot amicably terminate, we recommend your appealing to the decision of Divine Providence, by a solemn and religious use of the ancient institution of drawing lots. We have now finished the instructions which appeared to us needful to communicate with respect to the mission. The changes which may have taken place in the state of the islands, since the last accounts, may make it ne-

cessary for you to depart from the advice which we have now offered, and resort to expedients more congruous to the circumstances before you, and better fitted to secure the great object.

"On your arrival at Canton, you will address yourself to the Factory of the India Company, and in all respects conform to the conditions of the charter, a copy of which you will take with you. You will, in particular, observe the necessity of your being there by the month of December, or at latest in the month of January, 1799, that you may receive your cargo on board, and sail for Europe, in the early part of the spring. Thus we shall cherish the hope of your safe return, soon after the succeeding Midsummer. In the mean time, you will doubtless embrace whatever opportunities occur of writing to us, either from Rio de Janeiro, or by the first ship which sails from Canton, and let your despatches be addressed to Mr. Joseph Hardcastle, of London.

"We have now only to commend you to the all-sufficient care and protection of Him who holds the winds in his fists, and the waters in the hollow of his hand. The throne of mercy will be addressed with unceasing supplications in behalf of your safety, and the success of your embassy. You are accompanied by the affectionate esteem of the excellent of the earth; and ministering spirits, we trust, will receive the welcome charge to convey you in safety to the place of your destination. May they be glad spectators of the formation of a Christian temple in those heathen lands, and thus be furnished with the subject of a new song to Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb!

"Signed, by order of the Directors,

"JOHN LOVE, Secretary."

CHAPTER VII.

THE ORDINATION OF THE MISSIONARIES.

Designation Service—Presentation of Bibles—Popular Emotion—Dr. Williams's Charge—Ends and Motives—Salvation the great Design—Character of the Gospel—Covenant Interest—Power of Christ—Holy Spirit's Power and Office—Commemoration of the Lord's Supper.

When the Committee of Examination had selected and approved the first body of Missionaries, arrangements were made for their solemn designation to the Work of the Lord. On this great occasion, subsequent to the first General Meeting, the Catholic character of the Society was beautifully exemplified in the arrangements which were made for the conducting of the solemnity. By the appointment of one minister of each denomination, they exhibited the essence and operation of that Union of the faithful, of every class, which, from the first, it had been the intense desire of the Founders to establish and to cultivate.

The body of Missionaries was composed of men already ordained, of men accustomed to expound and pray in social worship, and of men less educated and exercised, but equally devoted,—all professing to be filled with holy zeal for the cause of the Redeemer, and for the establishment of his kingdom among the islands of the South. Thursday, August the 28th, was the memorable day fixed for the designation services. Zion Chapel was selected for the occasion, and, at an early hour, was filled in every part, and the windows crowded without; while multitudes could find no admission, and were scarcely able to approach the doors. The service opened with the hymn, "Come Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove:" Mr. Eyre, of Hackney, then read the Church of England Service, which was followed by the hymn, "Salvation! O the joyful sound!" Mr. Brooksbank prayed before the sermon: Dr. Hunter then delivered a most impressive dis-

course from Luke x. 1—20, comprising Christ's instructions to his seventy disciples;—the hymn, "O'er the gloomy hills of darkness," was afterwards sung. At this stage of the business, the twenty-nine Missionaries then standing round the Communion Table, Dr. Haweis, in a brief, pathetic, and appropriate prayer, commended them, theirs, and their work, to the care, wisdom, love, and mercy of the Son of God.

When prayer had ended, five ministers,—Dr. Haweis, of Spa-fields, Mr. Reynolds, of Camomile-street, Mr. Love, of Artillery-street, Mr. Waugh, of Wells-street, and Mr. Wilks, of the Tabernacle,—standing together, each of them took a Bible from the Communion Table, where a given number of volumes had been previously placed, and five of the Missionaries, approaching the Communion rails, kneeled down, when the ministers, with the Bibles in their hands, advanced, and each in succession addressed to the person kneeling before him the following words:—"Go, beloved brother, live agreeably to this blessed word (putting the Bible* into his hand), and publish the gospel to the heathen, according to your calling, gifts, and abilities." To this instruction the Missionary replied, "I will, the Lord being my keeper." Five others then kneeled down, and the same ceremonial was repeated, till the entire Mission received their designation.

The whole of this scene, which a little resembled some of the exhibitions of the Portuguese, at the departure of their mariners on voyages of discovery, was characterised by a solemnity which deeply impressed the hearts of all who shared or beheld it. The silence was deep and awful as that of the tomb—tears of tender emotion bedewed a thousand cheeks—and a thousand hearts, thrice told, ascended to "the God of the Gentiles" for his benediction to rest upon his servants. Then followed the hymn, "Lord, make them faithful!" which was not simply sung, but heartily prayed, by the vast assembly.

The part assigned to the Rev. Dr. Williams, of Rotherham, now succeeded. This great and good man accordingly

* The Bibles were the gift of Mr. Bailey, of Hackney, a member of Mr. Eyre's congregation.

proceeded to deliver to the Missionaries a charge of advice and encouragement. He chose, as the ground of it, Genesis xvii. 1, "I am the Almighty God; walk before me, and be thou perfect." The following is an analysis of this address:—

"I seem to view each Missionary as the father of many faithful—and all of you, collectively, as the fathers of many nations!—and to each of you are these words addressed. Here you have, first, a summary *direction* by which to proceed in all your future attempts; 'be thou upright,' or sincere;—and, secondly, the grand source of your encouragements, in the discharge of your arduous work, 'I am God all-sufficient.' Permit me now to attempt an imitation of this divine pattern.

I. "I am to offer some directions and remarks." As a fundamental general observation, I would have you never to forget, that "Godliness is profitable for all things," and that nothing can compensate for the want of personal holiness. I solemnly declare, I would prefer seeing one of you both deaf and dumb, embark, if under the influence of religion, rather than the most eloquent man in England, if destitute of personal godliness. Yet this godliness, with its life and power, must be so cultivated and directed as to promote the cause you have espoused. Suffer, therefore, the word of exhortation.

1. *Maintain a constant, holy jealousy over your ends and motives, in every step of your Missionary walk.* Insincerity in a Missionary is "death in the pot"—a Missionary without sincerity of ends and motives, is "salt without savour."

2. *Let the instruction, conversion, and everlasting happiness of the heathen be steadily intended, even when you may not think it expedient openly to avow the design.* This uprightness your present solemn engagement requires. The principle of steadiness has produced wonders almost incredible in every department of life, and God has ever honoured it in his servants. Prodigies of mental power, and the greatest brilliancy of parts, have failed of success when this was wanting. They promised victory like Goliath, but

ignominiously fell. In all you think, and say, and do, among the natives of the South Sea Islands, let your unchanging, inflexible aim be—*their salvation!*

3. *Cultivate a greater acquaintance with the purity and simplicity of the gospel.* God's covenant.—This is the wisdom and power of God, the rod of his strength, and the sword of his Spirit. Evangelical truths are the weapons of your warfare; let them not be covered with unsightly rust, nor blunted by too much polish—mind chiefly the *edge*. Revelation is a bright, pure mirror; disfigure it not with scratches made by unholy and foolish fancies, though they sparkle in your eye like diamonds. The gospel is pure, wholesome milk; do not adulterate it with the water of your own fountain—corrupted reason. The gospel is a net; do not alter the meshes, so as to make them either smaller or greater than the divine appointment. God will not have his bright and precious jewel,—the gospel, daubed with gaudy paint. The spirit of prophecy is the testimony of Jesus, and the glory of the New Testament minister, is to point Him out as "the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world."

4. *An alternate regard to private and social religion.* By neglecting personal holiness, you will degenerate into men of the world; and by neglecting social religion, you will not be Missionaries but Hermits,—you may as well stay at home. Enter, therefore, thy closet, or penetrate the woods of Otaheite, to converse with Jesus, to maintain spirituality, and to plead for your idolatrous neighbours; and then, warmed with this holy fire, go and animate others by social intercourse.

5. *Aim at exemplifying the religion of Jesus in all its parts.* One who endeavours to walk before *God uprightly,* aims more at first removing imperfections, than at performing brilliant exploits. Study, therefore, your defects, with a view to pardon and amendment; then you will be better able when the natives ask you, "What meaneth this new religion?" to answer them, "Come, and see,"—follow us in every step of our walk—observe us in all our private and public, personal and relative concerns. Hear our principles

—see our practice—and the things which you see in us do, and the God of peace shall be with you.

6. *Be more attentive to duty than even to success.* Regard the will and authority of God, and leave events to Him. You may desire success much, but you should still more earnestly desire to walk before God in uprightness; and if the success be limited, "despise not the day of small things." The gospel is leaven, and it must have time to operate; it is preserving salt, and it must have time to penetrate. Who knows not that the stately oak was once an acorn—that the most majestic river begins its course as a little rill—that mighty Rome was once a small village—and that greater England was once a land of stupid ignorance and vile idolatry! He, therefore, who commanded the *North* to give up, and it *was* so,—can also say to the *South*, keep not back, and it *shall* be so!

7. *Contemplate with assiduity and affection the character of God*, as displayed in his word, and in his chosen servants, in all ages. To walk *before* God, or *with* God, as Enoch did, implies a contemplation of God, and affection for his true character; but what I now particularly recommend to you, as greatly conducive to the end proposed, is, to read and observe attentively the self-denying characters of those men, who, bearing much of the divine image, have stood forth publicly to confess him before men. In the Holy Scriptures you have "a cloud of witnesses," whom you will not fail to contemplate and to imitate; but above all, keep looking unto Jesus! Read, with continual reviews and prayers, the lives of the Patriarchs and Prophets, the Acts of the Apostles, the history of the first Christians by Eusebius, the most authentic holy lives and martyrologies, the best journals of Missionaries—especially the life and journal of Brainerd, that highly favoured man of God, written by another who had drank deep of the same spirit, Jonathan Edwards, of New England. I now proceed—

II. "To propose to you such encouragements, as your arduous undertaking requires, and which our all-sufficient God affords you—*I am God all-sufficient.*" Briefly then let me suggest to you the following particulars:—

1. *Under every trial, hardship, or perplexity, know assuredly that, while in the way of duty, you have a covenant interest in the all-sufficient God.* In every station there are trials many and peculiar; but this one thought, if properly realized, must ever prove an adequate remedy—*I am God all-sufficient.*

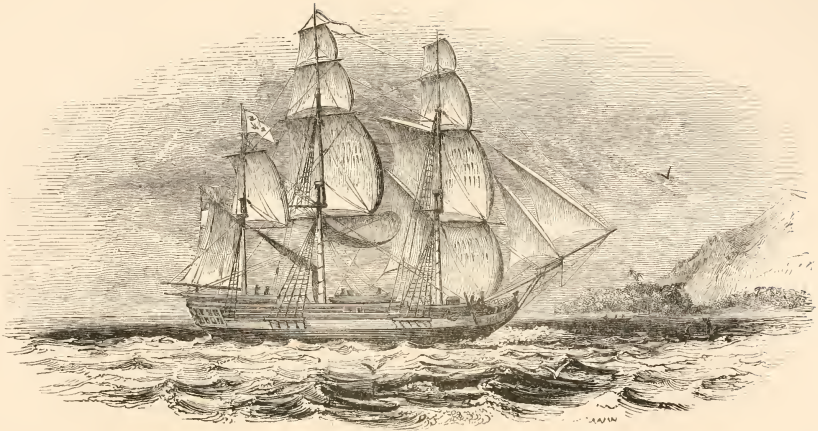
There are different sorts of trials; there are trials and snares even from prosperity. Prosperity! say you; who of *us* can expect *prosperity?* But are you not going to Otaheite?—an island for the sake of returning to whose sensual delights a ship's crew mutinied? Ah! remember the history of the antediluvian church. Ye sons of God, beware of "the daughters of men." Do not mistake me; I dissuade none from forming an honourable and godly connexion: but first *see that it be honourable and godly!* Let not the Christian Missionary—the Christian mechanic—be dazzled by the prospect of alliance with the noblest families of the land, with the presumptuous hope of afterwards making them Christians! Are you wiser than Solomon? I repeat the question,—*are you wiser than Solomon?* Oh! cry to God all-sufficient; for he alone can help you in so great a temptation, that the daughters of the land do not bear away your hearts, until they are made the daughters of God. Oh! may none of you be led in triumph by them, until they are led in triumph by Divine grace! Do not say this branch of the subject is needless; I verily believe that some of your greatest trials, in process of time, will arise from this quarter; suffer, therefore, the word of exhortation.

2. *The Lord Jesus Christ, whose you are, and to whom you now dedicate yourselves for this great work, possesses and exercises all power in heaven and in earth.* He now addresses you and says to each, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."

3. *Take encouragement from the covenant, office, and promised influence of the Holy Spirit.* What lifted up Christ's immediate Missionaries when cast down? What supported them when weak? What directed their feet when darkness and doubts covered their way? Who, but the Comforter? He shall take of mine, said Jesus, and shall show it unto

you; He shall guide you into all truth; by Him it shall be given you in the hour of need, what to *speak* and what to *do*. Let not mountains of difficulty affright you. "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts," the spiritual temple shall be erected. Oh! look then to the Spirit of promise. He can make you equally wise and meek—wise as serpents but harmless as doves. He can kindle a fire on the altar of your heart and keep it burning, which all the floods proceeding from the mouth of the dragon shall never, never be able to extinguish! Such was the substance of the charge.

The last event which calls for notice, is, the final commemoration of the Lord's Supper, on August 9th, the evening previous to the embarkation. The Directors and other active friends of the Society, assembled with the Captain, the Missionaries, and their wives, at Haberdashers' Hall, and, dropping all consideration of little party-distinctions, jointly engaged in showing forth the death of the Lord Jesus,—having first recommended to his merciful protection and care their beloved brethren and sisters, from whom they were to be speedily and, perhaps, finally separated. This was a night much to be remembered. Seldom on earth have such nights occurred to the sons of men. All hearts were full of love—and full of God. Dr. Haweis, as the senior minister, led the worship, and Mr. Reynolds, next to him in years, concluded it; Dr. Hunter prayed; Mr. Wilks and Mr. Eyre addressed the congregation; Messrs. Platt, Brooksbank, Townsend, and others, assisted in distributing the elements. In this seemly society the Missionaries spent their last night, amid a scene of love and harmony that was at once full of edification and refreshment. The sacred service of that hallowed hour, supplied a tolerable example of what the churches of the living God will in after times experience and display, when love, like death, shall have levelled all distinctions.



THE DUFF going out on her FIRST MISSIONARY VOYAGE.

PART SIXTH.

FIRST MISSIONARY VOYAGE OF THE SHIP DUFF TO THE SOUTH SEAS.

CHAPTER I.

VOYAGE FROM LONDON TO PORTSMOUTH.

Anchor weighed—Dr. Haweis' Arrival—Clerical Activity—Man-of-war—French Lugger—The Doctor's View of Self-defence—Female Instability—Sabbath at Sea—The Doctor sent in pursuit of the Blocks—Preaches at Southampton—Preaches for Mr. Griffin—Vocabulary—Dr. Haweis' Opinion of the Missionaries—Popular Prejudice removed.

At six o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, August 10, 1796, the Duff weighed anchor at Blackwall, and hoisted the missionary flag, three doves argent, on a purple field, bearing olive branches in their bills. We are enabled to give a picture of the events of this memorable day, drawn by the hand of a master,* who was himself a constant witness and a prime actor in all that passed from the 10th of August till the Duff sailed under the convoy of His Majesty's ship, the Adamant.

"Wednesday, August 10, 1796, at six o'clock in the morning, I drove to Blackwall. The ship was under sail, and beginning to fall down the river, though scarce advanced five hundred yards from the shore. I here first experienced the imposition of a waterman, who charged me five shillings for carrying me on board; another instance of a similar kind occurred at Portsmouth. Found Mr. Cox

* The Rev. Dr. Haweis, whose journal, from August 10 to October 1, lies before us; a document which supplies the most copious and authentic account extant of this important period, for which we are indebted to our esteemed friend the Rev. Mr. Davis, Hastings.

and our missionary brethren, with a pilot, on board. Captain Wilson had gone by land to Portsmouth, on business. His nephew, the first mate, commanded in his place; and a gracious man and a most able seaman he is.

"The weather was remarkably beautiful, the wind fair, the scene on every side delightful, and all appeared cheerful, men and women, in the prospect of their voyage. As we passed down the river, the shores in many places, on both sides, were lined with spectators, our friends, waving their hats, and wishing us a happy voyage. The deck crowded with visitors, who, though zealously affected towards us, greatly inconvenienced us, as it was necessary to be all hands at work in stowing away a vast multitude of things, which encumbered the ship. Sang with delight at setting off, 'Jesus, at thy command, we launch into the deep,' &c.

"Fell down to Gravesend, where many of our Directors came on board. Mr. Wilks and Mr. Platt, with Mr. Cox, exceedingly active in removing our encumbrances, and stowing them in the lower hold. Prayer and praise served to beguile our way, and every man busy in slinging his hammock, and preparing for the new life on which they were entering. The rest of the Directors all went on shore for the night, which I would not do: slept in the captain's bed, a very unpleasant place for a fresh-water sailor; it affected me with a very disagreeable smell, which kept me awake, and I resolved to lay my mattress in future on the cabin floor.

"Thursday.—Continued all the day stowing away the things which encumbered us, as well as our numerous visitors would permit. Our regular worship had begun, morning and evening, and, though we were greatly hurried, the Lord made useful the seasons of prayer and praise, and very refreshing. One inconvenience, however, arose, from the haste with which all our things were stowed away, that the necessaries we may quickly want are not easily to be found or got at. Mr. Cox, therefore, hastened us away, that we might be clear of the visitors who interrupted our operations, as well as, if possible, to go with the India convoy. We, therefore, the next day, fell down towards the Nore; visited

by our friends at Sheerness with a fresh supply of live stock, &c.

"Hitherto, I had been two days on board without the least sickness. Some were a little affected, but none yet considerably. Captain Cox left us this day, to pursue our voyage. Approached the Downs with a fair wind. Brother Wilks, and Brooksbank and I, now endeavoured to bring matters into train; consulted about allowances, and began to give them out to the several messes. Sailed through the Downs; began on Saturday to feel sickness, when quitting the land, as did many of our brethren; wind fell slack; heard the convoy to India had sailed, to our great mortification, which we were hastening with all eagerness to join.

"Saturday.—Advanced nothing; hailed in the night by a man-of-war. Whither bound?—Otaheite. What cargo? —Missionaries and provisions. Sent a midshipman on board to inspect and take a note of us and our destination; surprised at us and our cargo. Hailed us again; informed us she was in quest of a little black-sided lugger privateer; ordered us to hang out lights if we discovered her."

This intimation excited some apprehension among the company of the Duff, but they were comforted by the thought that they were safe in the vicinity of the war-ship. The gallant and reverend Dr. Haweis, however, acting upon the maxim of the brave heathen, "The gods will help those who help themselves," was bent upon a bold defence of liberty and property against Gallic robbers. "I wished," says he, "the guns to be shotted, and preparations made for resistance; as I thought it a shame for fifty able men to submit to a few banditti. I am persuaded that, during the two days we lay becalmed, we were probably in greater danger from the enemy than the ship will be in any part of her subsequent voyage; as these little luggers row and sail, run alongside and board with all their men, and often take ships twenty times their own bulk. We had the pleasure to see this very lugger brought into Portsmouth, with about forty men, the day after our arrival. Blessed be God for his care over us!"

This incipient portion of the voyage sufficed in some de-

gree to test the spirit of parties; and by the mass of the company that test was admirably borne. There was, however, an exception, whose case yields instruction to more than one class of individuals. The Doctor sketches the character thus:—"The only untoward person in the ship was Mrs. H——; how much had I repeatedly dissuaded that woman from coming! At first, all on fire for the mission; then irresolute, and doubted her call. I told her repeatedly, before she embarked, that in my apprehension she had none; yet after, she would go, and she would not, for months; at last resolved she would, in spite of my remonstrance. She scarce set her foot on board, before terrors, misery, and melancholy, made her a burden to herself and to all around her. Her poor husband, who was very anxious to wait upon and soothe her, and longing to proceed, was much to be pitied. Such an example might have been of very bad consequence to the other good women; but, through mercy, though all were amazingly kind and soothing to her, not one of them was dismayed by her frights and ill humour. Determined to set her ashore at Portsmouth, if she did not recover herself.

"Sunday.—Still becalmed; our first solemn day of rest; the Missionaries began it in their berths, with prayer and praise. Through mercy, at ten o'clock, I was enabled to preach from 2 Cor. xii. 10, 'I take pleasure in infirmities,' &c. Could scarce touch a morsel. At two o'clock, again on the quarter-deck; heard Brother Brooksbank; grew very unwell, my head aching desperately; lay down in the cabin window; unable to hear Brother Wilks, who preached at six. It was a real Sabbath, I believe, to us all; and a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. Few such Sabbaths before, since the creation of the world, have been thus kept upon the deep, or such men of God, Missionaries and mariners, found to make the audience. The mariners seem, many of them, as truly impressed with divine things as the Missionaries themselves, and all seriously attentive."

On Monday a gale sprang up, and they got into Spithead very early on Tuesday morning, but found, to their great disappointment, that the convoy was gone. Here they met

Captain Wilson and Mr. Eyre, and, having lost the present convoy, they agreed to inform the Directors, and to wait for their orders. In the mean time inquiry was made after a supply of blocks, which Mr. Taylor, of Southampton, had engaged to send; and, not finding them at Portsmouth, Captain Wilson, who soon discovered that Dr. Haweis was a man of all work, proposed that he should immediately repair to Southampton in search of the block-maker; and without the loss of an hour, accompanied by Mr. Eyre, he is seated in the hoy and away. He shall detail the rest himself.

"We had not sailed far in the hoy, before I took an opportunity of rebuking a person for swearing, as we were crowded with passengers. This brought on a little conference, and we had an opportunity of speaking the things of God to some, who appeared attentive hearers. Among the rest, I observed the captain of the hoy to listen very seriously. 'Do you, sir,' said I, 'know anything of this precious Redeemer?' He said, through mercy, he did. On this, I inquired if he belonged to Mr. Kingsbury's congregation, and found he did, when I told him my business to Southampton. 'Dear sir!' said he, 'I have had the blocks aboard my vessel a week, with orders to carry them off to the Duff the moment she arrived, and I have heard nothing of her being in the harbour.' We were now half way to Southampton; it was impossible to return with the blocks, so on we went, and a more delightful passage we could not have had. The scenery on both sides the river beautiful beyond every thing I had seen; the harvest getting in; the number of fine villas; the beautifully wooded country; the Castle of Calshot; the majestic ruins of Netly Abbey; the approach to Southampton, and the numerous vessels passing and repassing, to us, unused to the sea and its beauties, was like a scene in a magic-lantern, pleasing as surprising. As I had resolved to preach in every place which had favoured and contributed to our Mission, I readily accorded with the desire of Mr. Kingsbury to preach for him that evening: met Mr. Taylor and family, and a good congregation, on the short notice given; all very zealous for the

cause. Returned next morning in the same vessel with the blocks, to the Duff, at Spithead. Mr. Taylor's liberality is well known; he had largely contributed in money, and now much more, in these valuable stores.

"Thursday.—Went on shore to preach for Mr. Griffin; he is a most zealously friendly and a most amiable man of God. Made inquiries at the Admiralty; was informed that the Adamant is appointed to convoy several ships to Lisbon and the Mediterranean. Went on board the Adamant with Mr. W. Wilson to Captain Warre, and a second time with Mr. Eyre; received very politely. We concluded to wait for the Adamant's sailing, and to go under convoy as far as she went."

The Directors being apprized of their resolution to wait for the Adamant, approved the measure. The delay, however, tried their patience, but the lengthened detention was not without its uses. Had the hearts of any of the adventurers begun to fail them, they had an ample opportunity of counting the cost, and they were at perfect liberty to depart from the work. While here, a manuscript vocabulary of the Otaheitean language, and an account of the island, was handsomely presented to the Missionaries, through Dr. Haweis and Mr. Greatheed, by the Rev. Mr. Howell, a clergyman. These articles, as has been already stated, were obtained from the mutineers who were seized by the Pandora and brought to Portsmouth for trial, and were of essential service to the Missionaries in enabling them to grapple with the difficulties of the language on their way, and to acquire a considerable knowledge of it previous to their arrival. This delay also gave time to rectify all mistakes respecting stores, and a multitude of smaller things of great importance to persons so circumstanced, but readily overlooked in the hurry of outfit and departure. It was also a sifting time. To such men as Mr. Wilks and Dr. Haweis, daily intercourse with the Missionaries, during so long a time, furnished considerable opportunity of "discerning spirits." The result is frankly stated by the Doctor in the following paragraph:—

"The Missionaries rise daily in our estimation. I have

heard many of them speak and pray; they have greatly refreshed my spirit: their gifts and abilities far exceed my expectations. Blessed for ever be God for his grace to them! I was particularly affected with Nott's prayer and address; my spirit has not on the voyage had a greater refreshment. I trembled when Clodes' turn came, how he would acquit himself; but I was pleasingly disappointed: his exposition of Hebrews iii. was so simple and so perfectly according to truth, and his prayer such as could not but refresh with its spirit of devotion every feeling heart. Not a word improper or false English could I observe. It was not ornamented, but it was full of grace and truth. Had I not heard him myself, I should have doubted the possibility of his acquitting himself so creditably."

An occasion was also furnished of rebuking folly, and correcting misrepresentation among the churches adjacent. The Doctor's testimony on this point will be read with interest.

"A great desire on shore is expressed to hear the Missionaries preach; we have, therefore, employed them at Portsea and Gosport repeatedly, with great acceptance and utility. Malignity, which is always at work, had represented them as a set of poor illiterate men, leaving their country because they had not a provision in it; but confusion and conviction silenced every opposer, when they heard Cover, Eyre, Jefferson, Lewis, and others, and found them ready speakers—full of life and zeal, able in the work,—and some of them remarkably eloquent men. Many acknowledged to me the pleasing surprise of finding so many men so admirably qualified for the work to which they were going. Their ministry was fully attended, and their labours much blessed to the people around."

CHAPTER II.

OCCURRENCES AT PORTSMOUTH AND PLACES ADJACENT.

Dr. Haweis' Diligence—Address to the Jews—The Meeting—Interesting Discussions—Versatility of the Doctor—Great Guns—Sacrament—A worthy Waterman—Fleet sails—Return and delay—Affecting Separation—Interesting Account of Captain Wilson—Character of the Mates and Mariners—Example of Dr. Haweis.

THE excellent Doctor, valiant for the truth, and anxious for its diffusion, during his stay, laboured on earth and ocean with the utmost diligence. While seeking the salvation of the Gentiles, that of the Jews lay near his heart. Understanding that the seed of Israel were numerous in Portsea, he was much pressed in spirit to testify to them of the Son of God. Accordingly he drew up and circulated among them the following address:—

"Children of the stock of Abraham, a friend and well-wisher to your nation, desires to address a kind word to you on the present state of your people, and the prophecies concerning you. He wishes to remove, if possible, the barriers of prejudice, which have separated us: to cultivate a spirit of union and reciprocal kindness between us and God's ancient people. The reign of the Messiah, you believe, as well as we, will one day extend over all nations. They who truly long for him, and are prepared to meet him, will be careful to examine their ways, that they may be found of him in peace. To engage your attention and to awaken our own, to the things which make for our eternal peace, is the only motive which engages me to offer my services to you. I mean not to offend, or say a word to grieve you. Mine will be good words and comfortable words: Oh! that God's Israel would hear them.

"T. HAWEIS.

"P.S. If the elders and people of the Jews will attend at

Mr. Griffin's, Orange Street, Portsea, to-morrow evening, they will be welcomed and accommodated; and, should any word of mine engage their attention, I shall repeat the labour on Monday evening, at the same place. Many of your brethren, in London, have desired to hear at Zion Chapel. To consider the matter can do you no harm,—may do you much good."

The apostolic Doctor pleaded for admission to their synagogue, and offered to discuss with their ablest men the prophecies which relate to Messiah; but the heads of the synagogue declined. On the following night, however, many Jews and Jewesses attended at Mr. Griffin's Chapel, when the Doctor called their attention *first* to the law of Moses, moral and ceremonial, and urged the impossibility of salvation by its means: showing that all had broken the moral law, and were subject to its penalty, and that the ceremonial law could not now be practised, so that there could now be no atonement as there was now no blood, no sacrifice, no altar, no priest, nor any possibility of making peace with God according to the law of Moses: and *second*, he pressed them with the prophecies, which prove that the Christ must long since have come. The excitement was great, the crowd immense, and hundreds could find no admission; and the gospel of Jesus was urged with awful solemnity on the heart and conscience of both Jew and Gentile.*

* Much personal discussion on various occasions followed. One case of special interest occurred in the open air. On a Saturday, the Doctor was standing on the platform looking after the Duff; when the Jews were coming out of their synagogue, he began to address them in collected numbers around him, tenderly remonstrating with them on their ignorance of their own Prophets. Those he had previously conversed with, confessed their deep ignorance, and referred him to a Mr. Levi, who was their "wise man," whom the Doctor had already encountered, and found to be a wretched compound of ignorance, infidelity, and profaneness. On this occasion he saw Levi in the crowd, and, therefore, addressed himself to the "learned man." Levi attempted to defend his infidelity, mingling an oath with his argument; a circumstance of which Haweis took immediate advantage, urging the awful guilt of profanity. Levi responded that, "Got was too goot to tamn any pody; tat was his fait." The impious Jew wished to turn the discourse, and when the Doctor kept to his point, and pressed the word of God upon their consciences, Levi answered, "Vell, vy don't you sent to us te Archpishop of Canterpury to preach

The Doctor's labours, however, among the Jews, were only a parenthetical; matter his ruling passion was, the spirit of missions, and his chief pursuit was, the means of their promotion. Nothing was beneath his notice, or above his capacity. Had his profession been arms, he would unquestionably have been a foremost man both in council and in fight. The following entry in the journal is characteristic:—

"Day by day passed away in anxious expectation, looking and hoping for the signal to sail. The papers Mr. Rayner brought, were executed by the Captain at Mr. Lindigrun's, the India Company's agent. All is well but the guns, and those demanded are above our ability to mount or use. Mr. Taylor would have interested himself to get large guns from Southampton, but they were too large to be worked, and too heavy to be carried in a ship of our burden. If defence is intended, our present guns are assuredly the best calculated for us. The Captain, therefore, resolves to go on with them. Mr. Taylor would have got carronades of that weight, but could not."

On Sunday the eleventh, the Doctor went on board very early to preach, and to dispense the Lord's Supper; Jefferson and Lewis assisted; the Captain, and about half the seamen, joined in the ordinance, and the rest stood by with reverence. This was a season of great solemnity and emotion. Most of those who were there, expected to drink of that fruit of the vine with brethren in England no more till they should drink it new in the kingdom of their Father. On going back to the performance of sacred duties, he met a boatman of an order very different from that of the impostor at Blackwall, a man whose modest worth deserves to be recorded. The Doctor's entry runs thus:—"Returned on shore to preach at night. The good waterman who carried me, refused his usual fare, saying, he 'never plied on Sunday, or worked on that day for money; but this was God's work, and he was happy to be employed.' Another day, I neglected not to recompense him for both."

to us, and too us goot? I tink he has money enough for tooing it." The Doctor replied, "I have nothing to do with others, Mr. Levi; I am trying to do you good, and look for no reward but the pleasure of doing it."

Constant preaching during the week helped the Doctor to beguile his weariness till Saturday, when a deceitful breeze sprang up, and before the Doctor was aware, the convoy was under weigh. He wanted to follow them in a boat to bid the Duff adieu, but was assured they could not be overtaken. He hastened to the platform to catch a glance,—borrowed Mr. Buckland's glass,—saw only the upper part of the masts and sails over the point, turning up to go out at the Needles. The Duff was the last ship but one. His "heart yearned over the dear ship," as he followed her with his spy-glass, under sail, till the distance left him under the pleasing melancholy impression that they should meet no more in this world. But before the termination of this sweet though sad reverie, the wind changed. During dinner, at five o'clock, they heard that the Adamant and convoy were driven back, and returned to their former stations. The Doctor, though late, immediately put off to see them, lest they should sail again before morning. They met with their usual congratulations: the Captain and Missionaries embraced him; he found them "all alive to God, glad to meet again, but sorry to be obliged to return." Here they remained at anchor for thirteen long days, till the following Thursday week, when the journal presents the subsequent entry:—

"Thursday.—Looked at the vane as soon as I arose, which I had so many times done before with disappointment—found the wind veered to the north—hastened to the Hard—saw the Adamant under sail, turning down to St. Helens; got on board as fast as possible, just as the ship weighed—rejoiced together. Communicated to them the cheering accounts that morning received from Mr. Latrobe, of the happy impression the missionary efforts had made on Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Livonia, Hungary, Transylvania, Switzerland, and America; left a copy of the letter with them for their encouragement.

"Under sail.—The scene beautiful beyond description, the day fine, the breeze gentle. The men of war, who are the convoy, leading the way, and about sixty vessels under sail, on different tacks, crossing each other and falling down

with the tide to St. Helens; and, to heighten the grandeur, at one o'clock, it being the king's coronation day, all the men of war by whom we were passing, fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns, with the forts, filling the air with smoke and thunder. Came to an anchor, when the tide turned. Called all hands on the quarter-deck, captain, mates, missionaries, and mariners; met once more for a parting word. If the wind be fair we are separating. Ah! what a thousand considerations rushed on my mind! We had much of the presence of God with us. I preached to them from Hebrews iii. 1,—rejoiced in praise—sung, "Jesus, at thy command,' &c., and after commending them solemnly to God, and the work to which he had appointed them, we closed the affecting solemnity with, 'Blest be the dear uniting love,' &c., sung with peculiar sensibility and many tears. I then went round to every Missionary to give him my parting benediction, and shook them by the hand; to the good women the same. They wept much, wished me every blessing, commended themselves to all their kind friends and benefactors; and, though with reluctance, yet with pleasure, we parted: the destined time being come, when they were to proceed to the great object of their call and wishes. Not a person discovered the least dismay or regret, but all with united hearts, looked forward with courage, and looked up with faith. The dear, good Captain bid me farewell. I blest him and his work. The evening approached. I must go. I descended with a thousand different sensations the ladder I had so often mounted, and set myself down in the stern of the boat; the sail was hoisted; I looked back and prayed for them. We were in a moment out of hearing; we waved to each other; the boat flew through the water; the distance increased; the Duff began to mingle among the multitude of vessels around her; soon she became undistinguishable from them. I shall see them probably no more. God be praised who has led us hitherto! We will bless Him, and say, 'Hitherto the Lord hath helped us, for his mercy endureth for ever.' "

It is important to learn the light in which Dr. Haweis contemplated Captain Wilson—the honoured leader of this

great enterprise. We shall, therefore, gather into one the divers testimonies which are scattered over the journal, respecting that great character.

"Captain Wilson, all attention, wrapped up in his awful charge, will not leave the ship to visit any friend ashore; during the six weeks, he was only thrice on shore, and then on business. He is greatly devoted to his work. The Captain displays wondrous excellence, and is the most self-denied man in the ship. Carried off the Directors' letter to Captain Wilson, wished him to go on shore and dine with me at Gosport, but cannot prevail upon him: he does not wish to quit the ship. The Captain is, in all his conduct and conversation, the most exemplary and self-denied man I have almost ever met. He is justly revered and loved by every person on board. The delays, little difficulties, and awful sense of the trust committed to him, sometimes seem to bow him down, and raise apprehensions of the issue; but he revives, and buckles himself to his burden, with fresh confidence in God. His manner of life is, I think, too abstemious, and his table not better served than the messes of the Missionaries. They get nothing by dining in the cabin, but the respect and the civility. Their own table is as good, nay, I think, better. He invites them in regular succession every day; but I doubt whether his own example will entirely reconcile his own officers and cabin guests to this fare, after having been accustomed to our greater luxuries. During the time I was with him at Portsmouth, he had nothing at his table but small beer, except a few times a bottle of porter, unless particular company brought forth a glass of wine—but that very seldom. He used to banter me, and say, 'I hope, Doctor, you are not looking for pastry and a second course.' Indeed, there it is not, and I fared as the rest; though, I confess, it was such as I had not been used to. But I could do pretty well with tea; there is, indeed, plenty of meat, bread, and potatoes, and when I reflected on this, I could not but own, it was in myself that the fault must lie, if I wanted. Yet I think all the mates have been used to a better table."

Such was the Doctor's estimate of the frugal Captain,

Justice demands that we recite his sentiments of the officers and crew—sentiments, the accuracy of which subsequent experience abundantly confirmed. "His nephew, the first mate, is an excellent young man, an able seaman, an able draftsman, and fit for any command. He preferred sailing with his uncle as mate, to getting a ship of his own. He had commanded in a West-Indiaman two voyages. He is a great acquisition, and as capable of all nautical matters, as his uncle himself. The second mate, Godsall, is a sensible and serious man, well acquainted with his business. The third, Falconer, is a very strong, able, and active seaman, and a real acquisition to us. His father was a Scotch clergyman. All the sailors are attentive, and professors; and many of them as truly godly men as the Missionaries themselves. During the six weeks I have been on board, I have never once heard the name of God taken in vain—nor the voice of anger, nor a word to be blamed, from any man in the ship."

In this chapter we have reared a monument to the honour of Dr. Haweis, with materials of his own creation, more enduring than marble or brass. He is entitled to be considered the type of the evangelical feeling of his age and country. He is to be viewed especially as an embodiment of the spirit of the London Missionary Society, in which the mint, the anise, and the cummin, gave way to the "weightier matters of justice," to those whose debtors we are,—of "mercy" to the perishing millions of heathen lands,—and of "faith" in the blood of Him who is mighty to save. It is difficult to conceive of anything more admirable in principle, or more beautiful in practice, than the picture which this great and good man unconsciously and unintentionally draws of himself, in the journal of this eventful period. How suitable was the pattern presented by his example, during the long period of detention, to the eye, the understanding, and the heart of the Missionaries! How worthy of their imitation! Let the bigot of the "Steeple-House," and the bigot of the "Meeting-House," both draw near, and be instructed, corrected, and confounded, by the spectacle of Christian charity exhibited in the person of this clergyman!

CHAPTER III.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE SPIRIT OF HAWEIS, KINGSBURY, GRIFFIN, TAYLOR, AND OTHER FRIENDS OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Strictures on Biography—The Doctor's Intercourse with Dissenters—Clerical Courtesy—Events at Portsea—Netly Abbey—Noble Description of Spiritual Worship—John Newton opens a Dissenting Chapel—Mr. Walter Taylor—Newton's View of Taylor—Taylor's Works—Jews—Protestant Dissenters—Ecclesiastical Picture of the past Age—Counsel to Clergymen.

Were this an ordinary occasion, we should now proceed with our narrative; but we feel that a debt of sacred justice yet remains to be discharged to the memory of Dr. Haweis, and through him to that great Society, in the establishment of which he was so mainly instrumental. The responsibility of performing this duty is the more strongly felt from the circumstance, that the memorials of his life are in the course of preparation by the pen of a churchman; and from the experience which we have had in the respective cases of Rowland Hill, William Wilberforce, and Hannah More, there is ground to fear that a record will be issued which the Doctor himself would have felt to be, on points of great moment, a libel and a wrong, and have perused with indignation and tears! There is reason to dread, that, as in the case of the illustrious individuals above mentioned, a veil will be drawn over many things which Dr. Haweis deemed, and still deems, his principal glories; and that facts stated, may be mitigated, coloured, placed in false positions, and in deceptive relations. While such things are barely possible, we shall provide a permanent corrective of the evil that may arise on this point; and while we shall thus be securing the merited honours of the sainted dead, it will be found quite pertinent and relevant to our great subject. An early entry in the journal runs thus:—

"The wind continuing adverse, our stay now became uncertain, and may be longer than I expect; I resolve, therefore, to lay myself out on shore, and preach wherever the Lord opens a door for me. Desirous to make this providential delay of some utility, I have been laying out myself at Mr. Griffin's, Mr. Horsey's, Mr. Hepbourn's, at Portsea, at Farcham, Gosport, Southampton, and the Isle of Wight, at all which places the word of God has been heard with great avidity, and many precious souls have expressed the refreshment they have found under it, and multitudes unused to attend before, have heard constantly at Portsea, and with great seriousness. From the desire of Mr. Bogue's congregation at Gosport, of Mr. Bogue, and a written request of the deacons, I was induced to go to Gosport to preach for Mr. Bogue, which I did repeatedly, as did also some of the Missionaries. Nothing can be more warm and affectionate, than the reception I have met from all the people. I mention Mr. Minchin and Mr. Dodd, particularly. I was unable to comply with many requests of being there oftener, being so much occupied elsewhere, and very desirous to preach the word as diffusively as I could. I could not sit down idle for so long a time; had I applied for pulpits to my brethren in the church, I should have been no doubt refused, as Mr. Romaine was when in the country. Now so great a number of church folks have attended me, who would never enter a Meeting before, that some of their educational prejudices are removing—and evidently a greater spirit of liberality and toleration is diffused, and bitterness and bigotry subsiding. This I count among the many happy consequences which have followed from the union of so many different denominations in the Missionary Society; and if no other effects were produced, this would abundantly repay all our trouble and expense."

Beautiful, truly Christian, and scripturally catholic, as the above extracts doubtless are, those which follow are a still more marked and speaking index to the real state of Dr. Haweis' feelings as a Christian, and a preacher of righteousness.

"Sunday, preached for Mr. Griffin in the morning; for

Mr. Hepbourn in the evening; full and very attentive. Would not preach in the afternoon for fear of knocking myself up, but dined with Mr. Miall, the Baptist minister, a most faithful, lively ambassador of Christ. He is greatly pressed to settle at Northampton, and hesitates; wherever he goes, he will be a treasure, a catholic, lively, zealous servant of the Lord."

During his residence on this remarkable occasion, Dr. Haweis found the truth of the Scripture that "He who walketh uprightly walketh surely." So thoroughly was the clergyman merged in the Christian, so cordially did he demonstrate his love to all that loved the Lord Jesus Christ, that he seemed for ever to have forfeited all confidence among "good churchmen." This was indeed his own view of the matter. Hence he is obviously gratified at the unlooked-for respect paid him by the clergy of Portsea, as set forth in the following passage:—

"Mr. Howell, the clergyman of St. John's, who has been so very friendly in communicating his papers, called on me at Portsea and Gosport, with Mr. Sargent, the agent for the Society. I was on board and did not see them. It hardly entered my idea, after the manner in which I had been labouring for the last six weeks, that I should receive such an invitation to the noblest church and most respectable congregation in the place. It is a happy proof of the subdual of prejudice, and I hope will enable me always to see, that a sincere desire to do good in every way, will be no obstruction to my admission into the churches of my brethren, to whom I particularly wish to be serviceable. But the well-known reproach attached to us, often shuts the doors of the church against us, and compels us to labour where we are more welcome. I am conscious I can have recommended myself to them only by the undisguised frankness with which I have acted. I concluded my having preached for the Dissenters, would have excluded me from the church pulpits; and now I am clear if I had not acted as I have done, I never should have been invited to them. Multitudes heard me; their prejudices were removed; some were, I hope, affected. It was spoken of; in general what I said

was approved; many wished to hear me, and desired I might be invited. Where my friend Romaine, and all of a like kind had been refused, I was received with great civility, and pressed into the service, for which indeed I was as ready as they were desirous."

The extracts which follow will show how much this exalted man was at home among the Protestant Dissenters of Portsea, how much he loved them, and how clearly he appreciated their virtues, intelligence, and piety.

"After dinner went to Gosport, unintentionally compelled by that worthy man, Mr. Minchin, to spend the evening and sleep there; a large company. The evening spent, I hope, profitably and agreeably, in the Scriptures and prayer, with conversation. He is an excellent man and a lawyer; and I am much mistaken, if he does not some time prove a burning and shining light in that neighbourhood. He is full of zeal, and devoted to God. Monday morning, rose refreshed; a message, Mr. Dodd cannot go with me; but Mr. Minchin offers to carry me in his chaise; so I give up the hoy, which I intended to take, and close my work here with a sermon for Mr. Horsey. Mr. Miall and he are truly friendly to the Mission, and, I have reason to hope, will give us a collection. It is pleasing to feel the kind expressions of reluctance at my going from many whom I had never known before this visit, and never should have known but for the providential detention of the ship. I have been awakening many prayers on her behalf; they will follow her through the ocean. To-morrow, if it please God, early I start for Southampton, and take my leave of Portsea, and all kind friends there. God be praised for ever for all his loving kindness and tender mercies to me a sinner."

On the morrow the Doctor breakfasted early with Mr. Minchin, and then proceeded with him in his chaise to Portswood Green, the residence of Mr. Taylor, one of Mr. Kingsbury's principal people, whose Christian worth appears to have taken a deep hold on the susceptible heart of Haweis, who seems to have been exceedingly at home amid the Protestant Dissenters, generally, of Mr. Kingsbury's congregation. The following entry in the journal introduces a new

personage, the venerable John Newton, one of the Doctor's especial friends.

"Dined with Mr. Taylor; met Mr. Newton; preached at night for Mr. Kingsbury, notice having been given in the morning for that purpose. Mr. and Mrs. Toomes, two most precious members of that congregation, pressed me to sleep at their house, Mr. Taylor's being full."

The works of Dr. Haweis show, that he was richly endowed with a principal element of genius—imagination. He had an exquisite relish for the beauties of nature, and no mean taste in the fine arts. To such a man Netly Abbey had strong attractions—too strong to be resisted, as will appear from the following passage of the journal.

"After breakfast, took horse, and went down to visit Netly Abbey. Crossed the ferry to Itchin; a beautiful day and ride; a most splendid pile of ruins. The church and cloisters, once so magnificent, are now sunk into desolation. The ivy clings to the beautiful cornice, and elevated pillar, and half covers the walls. The floor is strewed with vast fragments of the fallen roof, and trees of various kinds growing out from the spaces between them, overtop the craggy walls. The hoot of the owl and the clamours of the jackdaw have supplied the mummery of monkish devotion. As I stood admiring the once beautiful church and its remaining windows, amidst the confused fragments, I was struck with the grandeur of the scene; a melancholy silence reigned around me; no voice was then heard, nor living creature seen, except one little wren, which flitted across from the ivy to the broken window, the only tenant now seen to occupy those magnificent remains of former greatness.

"As I rode round the precincts to admire the various views presented by different parts of the ruins, I made a stand under a venerable oak, at the skirt of an adjacent wood, which looked down upon the building, with a fine view of an arm of the sea, and the rising coast on the opposite side, terminating the prospect, a scene of singular beauty. I regarded with a kind of veneration this still living inhabitant of the place, and reflected, with a sort of magic revival of the former days, that this oak had probably beheld the

noble pile in all its beauty and glory—had often sheltered the tonsured fathers beneath its shade, and perhaps been itself the produce of the acorn sown by some one of this sequestered fraternity, many, many ages ago, and now surviving them, and looking upon their desolate heritage. What a changing world is this! Vanity of vanities, all is vanity."

The rapture passed away, and the vision ended. The more substantial realities of English hospitality, and gospel doctrine, were before the excellent Doctor, and he bent his course towards the sumptuous hall of Portswood, where things were more to the Doctor's liking than at the stinted table of the veteran captain. The journal proceeds with the following noble passage:—

"Returned slowly, musing, to dinner at Southampton; Mr. Taylor's coach came to convey me to Portswood, to drink tea and spend the evening, and hear Mr. Newton preach. What a contrast between the vast church in ruins, and the magnificent abbey, with a little newly erected building for the purpose of public worship, where about two or three hundred persons were assembled to hear my aged friend! No vaulted roof of stone, or carved imagery, adorned the simple structure; even the walls were yet in the rough plaster; but the presence of God our Saviour, and the indwelling Spirit of Jehovah, consecrated the living temples. How transcendently superior to all ancient monkish magnificence and mummery, as well as to all modern, empty-pewed, consecrated, but deserted churches, where ignorance of all Evangelical Truth fills the chair, and Ichabod is written on the walls, for the Divine inhabitant is fled! I confess, I rejoiced to see my brother Newton so profitably and liberally employed. His own practice will forbid him from ever objecting to a like conduct in his brethren, whether it be a barn, or under a tree. If the people are assembled with a thirst for the word of truth and righteousness, he cannot consistently forbid to draw for them the water of life from the wells of salvation. 'The Lord God hath spoken; who can but prophesy?'

"I was much pleased to find him as clear in his intellects,

and as strong in his voice, as twenty years ago. 'To grey hairs I will carry you.' He is nearly ten years older than I; and in his former days, endured hardships that might naturally have brought on decrepitude and premature old age; but his bow abides in strength. Through the arms of the mighty God of Jacob, may his last days be his best days!

"Returned to Southampton with some precious friends; there is a precious seed of faithful people under Mr. Kingsbury's ministry. May he see a great increase!"

The exalted place which Mr. Taylor has occupied in previous portions of this chapter, and in the extracts from the journal which follow, in relation to the Duff and missions, render it proper to record some leading facts of the history of that remarkable man. He was brother-in-law to Mr. Kingsbury. In 1768, Mr. Kingsbury married Miss Andrews, daughter of the Rev. Mordecai Andrews, a useful minister in London, who died in the midst of his days, upwards of eighty years ago, much honoured and deeply lamented. The decease of the mother was not remote, and a pious grandmother reared the orphans. In 1776 Miss Sarah Andrews, who had been for some years resident in the family of her brother-in-law, Mr. Kingsbury, was married to his valued friend Walter Taylor—a connexion which laid the foundation of long-continued domestic and relative felicity. The two families, for nearly forty years, were united by the most tender ties of affection, and were separated only by the short distance of their respective dwellings; till after the death of Mr. Taylor, and the lapse of a few years, when one roof again covered the brother-in-law and the sister-in-law, having, each, respectively, lost their companions. They smoothed for each other the passage to the tomb; and a few weeks only intervened between their respective departures from this land of sorrow. Mr. Taylor's house was the resort of great and good men of every sect of the church of God. Although himself a Dissenter, and brother-in-law to his pastor, one of the most enlightened and decided Nonconformists of his time, yet so catholic was his character, so

noble and generous his nature, that his residence was the cherished retreat of Cadogan, Romaine, Newton, and others, the excellent of the earth, of the church of England. This was as it should have been, and have continued to be down to our times.

Early in 1803, Walter Taylor departed this life, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. At his death he was the sole remaining member of the church whom Mr. Kingsbury found in communion thirty-nine years before. He has left a lovely example to Christian men engaged in trade. In the earlier part of his life, he had suffered sad reverses in business. It pleased God, however, afterwards to prosper him; and the moment he possessed the means, he cordially discharged the last sixpence of his obligations—he made full payment of every debt—thus adorning the gospel, and bequeathing a legacy of real honour to his descendants. John Newton, who long and largely enjoyed his hospitality, and possessed the fullest means of analysing and estimating his true character, thus attests his worth:—"When I consider the nature, magnitude, and intricacy of his business; the weight that must have been on his mind, in contriving and improving his machinery; his extensive engagements in all the dock-yards; and that, in the midst of all his concerns, when he occasionally met with a Christian friend, he could throw them all aside, and converse on the great things of God, as if he had nothing else upon his mind; I am ready to pronounce him, not only a true Christian, but one of the most eminent in our land."

Mr. Mounsher, subsequently mentioned, was the son-in-law of Mr. Taylor, and, for the last years of his life, an inmate in that gentleman's family. Habitual, enlightened, and cheerful piety made him a pleasant and profitable companion to all who enjoyed his conversation. When the venerable Newton preached at Mr. Taylor's house, Mr. Mounsher frequently read the hymns that were sung, a circumstance which led to the utterance of one of Newton's "good things." A friend who called upon Newton soon after the death of Mounsher, said to the patriarch, "Well, sir, you have lost

your clerk."—"Nay," said John, "you talk very unlike a mercantile man. Is a vessel lost when she gets into port?"* With these lights to guide us in the right understanding of the Doctor's journal, we proceed with further details, illustrative of his ardour in behalf of the Mission and his efforts to promote it.

"Thursday.—Wrote to Mr. Dyer, about preaching for the missionary collection at Greenwich; visited at their desire several kind friends to the Mission with Mr. Kingsbury; wished to pay them every attention. Mr. W. Taylor took me in his chaise to Portswood early, to view Mr. Taylor's superb works for making blocks and pumps for the navy. Saw, with great pleasure, the whole process of block-making; the inventions for facilitating the work most ingenious and beautiful; but I was struck with the pumps and their construction, which I examined with attention. The simplicity of the contrivance is admirable, as the power and effect produced are immense. One pump will discharge from the hold five tons of water in a minute, which is prodigious, by the work of man. I longed for one of them on board the Duff; it was now too late, but if ever she returns, he promises me to supply us. How liberally he has already done, respecting our blocks, I have mentioned before.

"I returned vastly entertained to dinner, which a little accident interrupted; through mercy no harm arose; and the fall of one of the dear children over the bannisters was only alarming, as, on stripping her, I could give them the consolation that no material damage was received, and nothing broken. Walked out with Mr. Mounsher, a solid, excellent man, and who will, I presume, be the preacher of the newly-erected building, which Mr. Newton has opened for prayer and praise. Mr. Taylor is a man of a large heart, and full of zeal for God and his cause. At night the family carried me to town to preach again for Mr. Kingsbury; a very good congregation and very seriously attentive. Mr. K. is a

* See Memoirs of the late Rev. William Kingsbury, by John Bullar; a volume which we received from the hands of his worthy son at Bath, which abounds in important matter, and merits a far more extensive circulation than it has obtained.

zealous friend of the Mission. Left with him, at his earnest request, Lady Ann's letters, to read to his congregation, respecting Cooper's preaching to the Jews. Mr. Newton, very Christian-like, acknowledges how wrongly he had formed his judgment of the matter, and how differently he thought and was affected since he had read Cooper's sermons. I wish all who have presumed to censure may be equally candid in their acknowledgments.

"Friday.—Went early to Mr. Kingsbury; very kindly gave me a parcel of Mr. Romaine's letters to look over, and select what I thought may be of use for his life. Visited a number of Mr. Kingsbury's congregation; he is vastly desirous to join in a little effort with those of Portsea, which is begun, and to send out, two and two, such zealous members as are willing to go into the country around, on the Lord's Day, and converse with the ignorant and such as are too distant from a place of worship, or too careless ever to think about it."

The worthy Doctor profited much from his lengthened sojourn in those parts. He had never before seen so thoroughly into the character of the Protestant Dissenters, the true nature of Christian fellowship, and the working of the congregational and voluntary principles. With all his wisdom, he had ill understood these points, and felt and judged of them as too many clergymen still feel and judge. He was astonished at the discoveries which burst upon his view on every hand. What a picture is presented, in the previous extracts, of brotherly kindness and Christian charity! Eminent clergymen residing under the hospitable roof of staunch Non-conformists, who deem their presence an exalted honour! Eminent clergymen opening new dissenting places of worship, and dissenting congregations hanging with affectionate reverence on their lips! Eminent clergymen conducting the Sabbatic and week-night services of their dissenting brethren! Eminent clergymen walking, arm in arm, with such brethren from house to house, in the course of pastoral visitation! Eminent clergymen mingling on all occasions with dissenting pastors and churches, rejoicing in their prosperity and celebrating their virtues! Such things have

been; but, alas! such things are no more! With whom doth the cause rest? In the face of the empire we assert it —that cause doth NOT rest with the Protestant Dissenters! We affirm it, with the confidence which personal knowledge inspires, that the present pastors of Portsea and Southampton, the Rev. Messrs. Cousins and Adkins, and other pastors of the places adjacent, with their churches respectively, inherit exactly the same spirit and the same principles as their predecessors; and that such is the spirit of the body throughout the empire. *They* are to a man ready to reciprocate every office of love with godly ministers and members of the establishment. The bulk of such members and ministers little know the spirit of sincere and intense benevolence with which Protestant Dissenters view them; they little know how clearly Dissenters discriminate between systems and men—how cordially they are prepared to embrace the one, while they repudiate the other—how habitually and conscientiously they distinguish between Christian character and ecclesiastical corruption! To all such, virtually and frankly, the Dissenters of England, Scotland, and Ireland say:—"Reverend brethren, come and see! Come in the spirit of a Romaine, a Newton, and a Haweis, and we will readily receive you to our pulpits, our parlours, and our hearts! Come and see! You know us not. Come, and we will heap coals of fire upon your heads! Come and let us look each other in the face! We have lived too long apart; we shall both be the better for Christian intercourse." Only return in the spirit of Christian charity, and prove their words! They will constrain you to adopt as your own the language of the journal, with which we conclude, and to say individually,—"I am pleased myself and surprised at the cordiality and civility with which I am treated, by persons of all denominations."

CHAPTER IV.

VOYAGE FROM PORTSMOUTH TO RIO JANEIRO.

Home and Country—Convoy parted from—Sacrament—Comfortable State of the Company—Day of Fasting—Alarm from a strange Sail—Cape Frio—Arrival at Rio Janeiro—The first Sabbath—Effects of Religion—Popish Beggary—Power of Superstition—Slavery—Letter to the Directors.

On Sunday, September 25, the Duff was off Falmouth, and a boat from St. Maw's coming alongside, the Missionaries sent a packet of farewell letters to their friends. They then proceeded with the convoy, and soon lost sight of their native land. This was a trying moment to most of them. They were now called to endure that which few virtuous men can sustain without emotion—to bid a last adieu to the land of their birth and of their fathers' sepulchres. Anxious to catch the closing glimpse of their natal shores, many of them climbed the shrouds, and shed tears as the white cliffs sunk from their gaze, in the distant ocean, which bounded the horizon. A thousand affecting considerations rushed tumultuously upon the heart, with a weight of deep depression. It was like the flight of spirits from one world to another. The past had ceased to be, and the future was full of a dread uncertainty. Still, however, they had counted the cost, and they confided in the grace, love, and guidance of that Master for whom they had surrendered the delights of home and country.

On the 30th they parted from the convoy, hoisted their ensign, and, making all sail, pursued their own course. The fleet soon disappeared; and, thus deprived of human protection, a meeting was held for special prayer, when thanks for mercies past were returned to the Ruler of Nations, who made the sea and the dry land, and his protection supplicated for the rest of their voyage. On Sabbath, October the 2d, Mr. Jefferson preached, and dispensed to the Cap-

Moral and Altar at Attahooro with the Eatooa and Tees

Harbour of Rio Janeiro

tain, Missionaries, and seamen, the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. The Missionaries, in turn, kept up the evening and morning exercises of devotion, and during the day pursued their studies. The women and children soon became quite at home; all appeared satisfied, and not a murmur was heard. On the 6th they saw and passed the beautiful island of Madeira; and on the 8th came in sight of Palma, one of the Canary Islands. On the 11th they crossed the tropic of Cancer, and beheld several flying-fish about them —a sight which was novel to the Missionaries, and excited their admiration. The 12th was devoted to fasting and prayer for the prosperity of their souls, and of their object, when Mr. Lewis preached in the morning, and Mr. Eyre in the evening. On the 14th they reached St. Jago, the first port of refreshment, after a pleasant voyage of exactly three weeks from the time they left St. Helen's. Their daily devotions were never once suspended.

Having obtained a supply of water and fresh provisions, on the 18th, they pursued their voyage, and in the evening espied a sail to the westward, which, having approached within a mile of the Duff, hoisted English colours and fired a gun to bring her to: the Duff likewise fired, and showed her colours. There being scarcely a breath of wind, it was dark before they came within hail. On coming close up with her, the passengers of the Duff were alarmed at her formidable appearance. She had all her ports up, her guns pointed, and matches lighted, ready for action; a custom general in time of war on approaching a strange ship, in order to strike terror, as well as to be in a state of preparation. An awful suspense for a moment prevailed; it was doubtful whether the destiny of the Duff was to be France or Otaheite, for the force of the strange vessel was so superior, that resistance must have been futile; and had she been an enemy, capture was inevitable. On hailing her, however, apprehension vanished; she was the Jack Park, of Liverpool, a letter of marque, bound for Africa, but cruising for prizes.

On November the 11th, the Duff was off Cape Frio, of woful celebrity as the witness of her subsequent capture; at

daylight, on the 12th, they made sail, and ran for the harbour of Rio Janeiro, where, on her following voyage, she was sold as a prize to strangers. As soon as they had anchored, a guard-boat, with the proper officers, came alongside, to prevent smuggling, and watch that no person went from the ship, unaccompanied by a soldier. The Captain, who was obliged to land when they first entered the port, was attended with a military officer from fort Santa Cruz. They had daily proofs of that jealousy, on the part of the government, which was so fearfully exemplified during the captivity of Captain Robson and his people.

The 13th was Sunday, and a happy day, a day of joyous remembrance, it was for the company of the Duff. They had now sailed through five thousand miles of ocean, and encountered most malignant climates, in the enjoyment of perfect health; and they were at length moored in a safe harbour, where they were supplied with all needful refreshments for the remaining part of the voyage. Little did poor Robson, the gunner, anticipate the calamities which, as captain during the next voyage, awaited him in that harbour! The officer of the guard-boat was, of course, present at their Sabbath devotion. He behaved with great propriety; but his curiosity was much excited, and he seemed at an utter loss to comprehend what sort of people they were; yet, through delicacy or fear, he abstained from inquiry. Afterwards, however, when familiarity had inspired confidence, he said, that he never before saw people behave with such order and sobriety, on the first day after their arrival—swearing and uproar, riot and drunkenness, being the uniform practice.

Rio Janeiro, the capital of Brazil, was one of the chosen abodes of the Man of Sin. At the corner of every street there was a figure of Christ and the Virgin Mary, placed in a niche, or kind of cupboard, with a curtain, and glass window before it; after dark, candles were lighted: here the people stop to address their devotions, and the livelong night the voice of their chanting to these images may be heard. Even the common beggars make a trade of religion, by bearing a little crucifix on their breasts, at the sight of

which the common people cross themselves, and the beggar, blessing them, must be paid for his benediction as well as the Pope. The number of priests was immense. Crosses were erected on the top of the hills, and on the forts; persons about to bathe, previous to plunging, were seen stooping down, dipping the hand, and crossing their bosoms; and the genius of ignorance and misery presided over all. A body of the Missionaries, on landing, were shocked with the sight of a poor slave, worn out with disease and labour, advancing with a feeble crawl to the water's edge; and shortly after they beheld a scene, disgusting to humanity, a cargo of human beings exhibited, naked, for sale, in the market-place; whilst others, in companies of six or seven chained together, were traversing the streets with burdens. During their stay, they saw a ship come in, laden with sprightly negro boys and girls, who were placed on a little island near the town, where, ignorant of their cruel destination, they appeared happy and playful, while the adult negroes there exposed for sale, like cattle in a market, seemed to sink under sorrow, indignation, and despondency. The Missionaries saw their barbarous masters flog them, like horses or dogs, with a cruelty so shocking as to draw tears from the eyes of the beholders! The brethren, previous to their departure, wrote and despatched the following letter, dated November the 15th, 1796, to the Directors.

"Dear and honoured Brethren:—We think it our duty to inform you, we arrived at this place on Saturday, 12th instant, after a passage of seven weeks and one day. We cannot sufficiently acknowledge the great goodness of Almighty God, in the signal blessings we have been favoured with, since our departure from our country and dear connexions therein. We have not experienced one day of real bad weather, since we were launched upon the bosom of the great deep,—winds and waves, in the hands of our God, have been propitious. The fiery heat of the sun, in passing beneath its directest rays, hath been kindly checked by intervening clouds or cooling gales; so that we have crossed thus far through the burning zone, without feeling those inconveniences that we were naturally led to expect. Our visita-

tions of sickness have been partial and transient; few having been afflicted, and those, through Divine goodness, speedily recovered; Mrs. Eyre excepted, who, through weakness and infirmity incident on age, has enjoyed but little health since our departure from England; however, from the time of our arrival in this harbour, she appears greatly revived. The abundant supply of every necessary, furnished by our liberal friends, hath not suffered us to feel the smallest want.

"Our attention has been chiefly directed to the reading of the accounts of the islands of the South Sea, and acquiring some knowledge of the Otaheitean language, from the providential means put into our hands; other studies of a scientific nature we have not been able to pay general application to. The worship of the Most High has been duly and constantly attended, without any omission, but when necessity or prudence made it warrantable. Whatever spiritual trials we individually have suffered, moments of refreshing from God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, have more than compensated. Harmony and concord continue among us as a body engaged in one common cause. We look forward to what remains of our voyage and future operations, with that concern our peculiar situation demands. Our insufficiency we feel, and where our strength lies we know. We humbly hope and trust, that the hand of God will continue with us, by his Spirit to direct us, and by his power to guard us. We give ourselves up to God through Jesus Christ our Lord, and desire to be placed in his arms.

"Dear Brethren, the whole body of Missionaries, as the heart of one man, present their Christian love to the body of Directors, the Society, and all true lovers of Christ and his Gospel. We pray the continuance of an interest in your fervent prayers for us, and for our undertaking; that we may acquit ourselves as men, faithful to the cause in which we are engaged, and be rendered mighty instruments in the hands of God for the conversion of the heathens of the South Seas: so shall iniquity stop its mouth, the wise and prudent, in their own eyes, be ashamed, and the mighty power of God be displayed in the eyes of the world, by his choosing the foolish things of the world to confound the

wise, the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; the base things of the world, and things which are despised, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are.

"We remain, dear and honoured brethren,
"Your brethren in the Gospel of Jesus Christ,
"The whole body of Missionaries.

"JOHN JEFFERSON, Secretary."

CHAPTER V.

VOYAGE FROM RIO DE JANEIRO TO OTAHEITE.

Doubling of Cape Horn—Passage by the Cape of Good Hope—Dreadful Storm—Difference of Opinion arises—Church Government—Religious Exercises—Difference and Harmony—Confession of Faith signed—Space traversed—Toobouai—Terrific Tempest—Choice of Islands, and Distribution of Missionaries—Committee of Management.

Captain Wilson now proceeded on his voyage, in the hope of effecting it by way of Cape Horn, according to the original intention. On November 29th, he experienced a severe gale, in which the live stock was much injured, On the 3rd of December the gale returned, when a portion of the live stock, so essential to the health of the company, died, the greater part of the Missionaries, together with some of the seamen, became sea-sick; and all felt the serious effects of the weather. Thus situated, Captain Wilson began to dread the consequences of persevering in his attempt to double Cape Horn, as it was possible that his unseasoned company of landsmen, women, and children, might fall victims to the intense cold and the repeated storms, which must inevitably have been encountered. Independently of this, success at that season was doubtful, as in the case of Captain Bligh and others, whose efforts, after prolonged and determined struggles to double the Cape, proved abortive. On these grounds, after mature deliberation, the plan was relinquished, and the resolution adopted of going the eastern passage; that is, to pass a few degrees south of the Cape of Good Hope, to sail to the southward of the south cape of New Holland, and New Zealand, keeping in the track of the westerly winds, till near the meridian of Otaheite, and then to steer to the northward for that island. This step, while it promised safety, considerably extended distance; before

Island of Otaheite

War Canoes in the Bay of Matavai.

Harbour of Oopoa

they could reach Otaheite, in the straightest course, by the eastern passage, they had to run not less than fourteen thousand miles, together with two hundred and eleven degrees of longitude; whereas the distance by way of Cape Horn did not exceed seven thousand miles.

Having changed their course, they proceeded for seven weeks without any obstruction, at the rate of from one hundred and eighty, to two hundred, and sometimes two hundred and fifty miles in twenty-four hours. The wind then became adverse; and when they approached the longitude of the Cape of Good Hope, they were overtaken by one of those tremendous gales, with which, since the time when the Cape was first doubled by Diaz, that region has been occasionally visited. The waves rolled like mountains, and in a succession so regular, that in the gulf which intervened, the water was as smooth as in a mill pond. In this state, they were driven by billow after billow, one moment they sank into the deep channel between sea and sea, where they were completely becalmed; and then, as the ship was raised by the following wave, the gale was so fierce as almost to carry away the masts. It continued four days, during which their danger was ofttimes very great, but Captain Wilson did not apprize them of their peril till its termination.

During this period, the Missionaries were industriously applying themselves to the Otaheitean language; while a part of each day was appropriated to the reading of the Rev. Mr. Greatheed's account of the South Sea Islands, styled by them "Missionary Geography." If by this means their minds became enlightened, they were also distracted, and a difference of opinion gradually increased concerning the propriety of separation, and the group most eligible and safe to settle in, some preferring the Friendly Isles, and others Otaheite. John Harris, alone, was for the Marquesas. He had long fixed his mind on that choice; his resolution remained unshaken, and he desired only to have one or two to accompany him. For this purpose he was now endeavouring to gain over the young men, few of whom as yet seemed inclined to settle at the Marquesas. Anticipating

the probability of such a separation, a meeting was held of the whole body of Missionaries, when a lengthened conversation took place resulting unwisely in the adoption of a resolution, "That eight persons and the chairman* be chosen to draw up a code of Church Government for the future conduct of their little society, together with certain religious principles, to be signed by every individual." The same day the following persons were chosen by ballot to compose the committee:—Bowell, Buchanan, Cover, Henry, Jefferson, Lewis, Main, and Shelly.

At another meeting it was moved, "That two days in the week, Tuesdays and Thursdays, an hour and a half each, be appointed for the discussion of some doctrinal part of God's Word. The text of Scripture to be appointed by a moderator, chosen out of the body, who shall publicly declare the text at least two days before the time of discussion,—the members to speak in rotation, and not to exceed a quarter of an hour each, and to divide the text under proper heads, which shall be committed unto paper, and a copy of the same to be delivered to the moderator." Mr. Lewis was chosen first moderator of this interesting company. The object of the scheme was, to improve the young men in the method of arranging their thoughts, and to promote their knowledge of the Scriptures. It is an exercise, in commendation of which, it is scarcely possible to speak in terms of exaggeration.†

By the middle of January, the committee had nearly finished the Articles of Faith, and Rules of Church Government. Hitherto no serious difference of sentiment had arisen among the Missionaries; now, however, offence came. The Directors themselves held the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, in the sense usually termed Calvinistic, and in unison with the views of the brethren in Scotland, as set forth in the Assembly's Confession of Faith, and Catechism; believing such altogether consonant to the truth of God. It was therefore an original decision, that none should be sent out as Missionaries, who did not make a clear and

* Captain Wilson.

† See "Jethro," chapter vii., section ii.

explicit confession of their faith in accordance with these great standards of the Reformation.* Seeing this had been done, there was every reason to believe that all the Missionaries were of one mind; but it now appeared that two of the number were of other sentiments respecting the extent of the atonement, and the sovereignty of grace. Hence arose a considerable difficulty; the body of the Missionaries doubted the propriety of retaining the services of the Arminian brethren, because of the consequences that might ensue; however, after a variety of conferences upon the subject, conducted with the greatest calmness, the two dissentients acknowledged, that they had received light from the arguments employed, and the breach was healed.

On January 29, 1797, they passed the meridian of the south cape of New Holland; and on February the 14th, they were thirty-two leagues to the southward of the south cape of New Zealand. On the 15th, they were nearly antipodes to London. The day following a sea broke against the Duff's stern, dashed one of the windows to pieces, and spoiled several books in the cabin. On the 21st, the articles of Faith and Rules of Church Government having been completed, and approved by the entire body of the brethren, they were signed; and a day of thanksgiving was held. A separation becoming more and more probable, since it was the general opinion that it would be better to plant at least two, if not three missions, than to settle down in one body, they began to teach each other the little handicraft arts, of which they were severally masters, justly considering, that it might be of service when they were parted. That nothing might be wanting, that could be supplied, Dr. Gilham gave

* Such is the statement of the First Missionary Voyage, but Mr. Greatheed has the following important MS. Note on the passage: "This is Dr. Haweis' language, and expresses his own sentiments; but so far was it from being that of the body of Directors, that they offered to equip Missionaries, if recommended by the leading ministers of the Methodist Society, who did not till long after engage in Missions to the Heathen, except to Negroes in the West Indies. The Missionaries ought to have left every one of their number to follow the dictates of his own conscience." Pages 170, 175, 181, 183, 191, of this work demonstrate that Greatheed's view is the correct one, and that the original constitution of the Society provided for the incorporation of all that held pædobaptist views, and loved the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

lectures upon a prepared skeleton of the human body, and instruction in the use of medicines.

It is not easy to conceive of the dread solitude of this voyage. Ninety-seven days had now passed since they left Rio de Janeiro, and, with the exception of a single mast, they had not, during this lengthened period, seen either ship or shore; and they had sailed by their log thirteen thousand eight hundred and twenty miles—a greater distance, probably, than was ever before run without touching at any place for refreshment, and without seeing vessels or land! At length, wearied of the boundless wilderness of waters, the company, generally, began to long for a sight of a South Sea island—a desire which was speedily gratified. Captain Wilson cheered the Missionaries by the assurance, that, if the wind came more ahead, he would turn the ship about, and in the morning they should see an island. Many of them felt surprised at the exactness of nautical science, by which, after running nearly four months through the trackless deep, he should know that an island was near. About six o'clock next morning, accordingly, a sailor, who was in the main-top, cried "land!" There was an immediate rush upon deck, and all eyes were intensely fixed on the distant, much-desired object. This was Toobouai, celebrated in maritime history in connexion with the mutiny of the Bounty, and the murderous havoc committed by the mutineers among the innocent natives, which, as already stated, has procured for the dishonoured spot the dreadful designation of—"Bloody Bay!" The Duff merely surveyed Toobouai, but did not land upon it.

On the third or fourth day after leaving this island, the Duff encountered a storm of a very terrible nature, which has been described by more than one of the parties on board. The afternoon was dark and lowering with the presages of this awful tempest. The atmosphere was impregnated with a dusky redness. Not a breath of wind was felt. The face of the ocean was a polished mirror, reflecting the appalling face of the sky. A solemn awe filled all hearts. They fixed the conductors to the topgallant masthead, and let them down into the water, to divert, if possible, the destruc-

tive lightning. It was afterwards judged necessary to take the further precaution of striking the topgallant yards and masts, and fixing the conducting chains to the lower masts. The Captain ordered all the sails to be taken in—every minute expecting the winds to break forth into fury, and the billows to commence their tumultuous raging. The dread suspense was not of lengthened duration. The lightnings gleamed at a distance; and forthwith blazed around them, seeming to shoot devouring fire. The thunder so roared, that at every clap the ship quivered from stem to stern. The electric fluid appeared to possess a power of destruction, never witnessed in our northern regions. The solemn and appalling stillness, except as tremendously interrupted by the cracking noise of the forked lightning, and the stunning bursts of the crashing thunder, continued till midnight, and the rain, with squalls, till three in the morning. All hearts were overpowered with fear, as if in expectation of instant dissolution. The sea at length, without much wind, responded to the sky—it became convulsed and tumultuous, and threatened to engulf them in its deeps. The passengers were, therefore, all sent below; and the hatches secured to exclude the raging element. Thus imprisoned, their situation was full of horror. Every instant, the vivid flashes of lightning darted through the chinks of the vessel—and the rolling thunder shook her whole fabric. This was a night much to be remembered. By morning the storm ceased, the atmosphere was clear, the wind was fair, and they stood on nearly in the direction of Otaheite; and, ten days after they had left the island of Toobouai, they had the indescribable happiness, on the morning of Saturday, March 4th, of discovering the shores of that famous Isle.

The subject of separating the brethren among the three groups of islands, the Society Islands, the Friendly Islands, and the Marquesas, having been frequently discussed, and each person having been requested to signify, in writing, the place to which he should prefer going, on February the 27th, the business of distribution was brought on, when the result of the general election was as follows:—

For Otaheite:—Rev. J. F. Cover, Rev. J. Eyre, Rev. J.

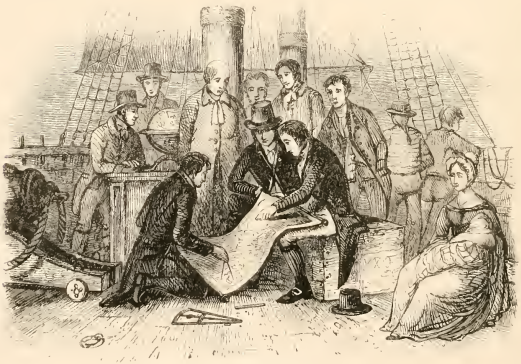
Jefferson, Rev. T. Lewis, Mr. H. Bicknell, Mr. B. Broomhall, Mr. J. Cock, Mr. S. Clode, Mr. J. A. Gilham, Mr. W. Henry, Mr. P. Hodges, Mr. R. Hassell, Mr. E. Main, Mr. H. Nott, Mr. F. Oakes, Mr. J. Puckey, Mr. W. Puckey, Mr. W. Smith: a list which, with five women and two children, make in all twenty-five.

For Tongataboo:—Mr. B. Bowell, Mr. J. Buchannan, Mr. J. Cooper, Mr. S. Harper, Mr. S. Kelso, Mr. I. Nobbs, Mr. W. Shelly, Mr. G. Veeson, Mr. J. Wilkinson, Mr. Gaulton.

For Santa Christina, one of the Marquesas:—Mr. J. Harris and Mr. W. Crook.

When the above business was settled, the Captain signified to those destined for Otaheite, that, as they drew near the island, it would be proper for them to choose their committee and president, for the management of their affairs. Mr. Jefferson was elected president. Messrs. Cover, Lewis, Henry, and Broomhall, were chosen to compose the committee. Cover was appointed secretary and store-keeper, and Lewis librarian. It was then agreed, that the president, secretary, and librarian should hold their office for six months, and that the committee should go out by rotation, one every three months. The working of this arrangement will afterwards more fully appear.

Missionary House and environs in the Island of Otaheite



Assembly of the Missionaries previous to their distribution.

CHAPTER VI.

ARRIVAL AND SETTLEMENT OF THE MISSIONARIES AT OTAHEITE.

Arrival at Otaheite—Approach of the Natives—First Impressions—Tayoship—First Sabbath and first Sermon—The Swedes—Tayoship between the Captain and Manne Manne—Bligh's Building—Manne Manne's Offer—The Captain's landing—His Demand—The King's Offer—The Missionaries go on Shore—Generosity of Manne Manne—Presents to the King and Queen—Illustrations of Taste and Temper—Second Sabbath—Visits from great People—Pomarre's noble Conduct—Wine and Murder—Tea-drinking—Cession of Matavai—Proposal of War—Splendid Presents—Ordination of Missionaries—The Lord's Supper.

While Otaheite has a being among the habitations of men, Sunday, March the 5th, 1797, will be considered an era of unutterable importance in its history. On that eventful day, the salvation of God drew near to its idolatrous and polluted shores. Memorable Sabbath! Oh, happy day for the teeming inhabitants of the Southern Pacific Ocean! About seven o'clock in the morning, the Duff arrived abreast of the district of Atahooroo, whence several canoes immediately put off, and paddled towards her with great speed. At the same time a calm ensued, which being in their favour, in a brief space there were no fewer than seventy-four canoes assembled, many of them double, containing each about twenty persons. Such numbers were not desirable, and attempts were made to prevent them from crowding the deck; but, in spite of such attempts, in a short space not less than one hundred of them were on board, dancing and capering like madmen over the vessel, and shouting "Tayo! Tayo!"—a term expressive of friendship. Never before was that term used with such truth and propriety. Little did the poor islanders dream of the stupendous revolution which these strangers were destined to work among

them. A few broken sentences of English were also repeated. In their numbers there was little to alarm, for they had no weapons of any sort among them. To keep them in awe, however, some of the great guns were hoisted out of the hold, while the kind natives, as free from the fear as the design of mischief, cheerfully assisted to put them on the carriages.

The whole deportment of the natives was, of course, keenly scrutinized by the people of the Duff; and their wild and disorderly behaviour, together with divers concomitant circumstances, lessened the favourabel opinion that had been entertained of them. This at first seemed to depreciate them in the estimation of the brethren; but the cheerfulness, good-nature, and generosity of these kind people, soon removed this momentary prejudice. One very old man, Manne Manne, who called himself a priest of the Eatooa, was very anxious to be *tayo* with the Captain; others also singled out their favourites; but their proposals were declined till more should be known of them, and of the nature of the engagement. At this they were amazed; but still more at the indifference manifested about the hogs, fowls, and fruit, which they had brought in abundance. But the repulse of their women—conduct so unlike that of all previous European visitants—caused still greater wonder. They endeavoured, but not with much success, to make the islanders comprehend that this was the day of the Eatooa of the Englishmen, and that on it they could not trade. When their transports had subsided, many, of their own accord, went away, and others were driven off by the old man, and by one Mauroa, who now exercised a little authority. Those who remained were chiefly arreoies from Ulietea, in number about forty. These persons being reduced to order, worship was begun upon the quarter-deck, when Mr. Cover preached, and was probably the first man to mention, with reverence, the name of Christ to these poor heathens. The hymns selected for the occasion were, first, "O'er the gloomy hills of darkness," &c.; second, "Blow ye the trumpet, blow," &c.; and "Praise God from whom all blessings flow" terminated the memorable service. His text was, "God is love," John

iii. 23. During sermon and prayer the natives behaved with propriety, and seemed thoughtful, but when the singing struck up, they were so charmed and filled with amazement, that they could not repress their emotions; they talked and laughed, but a nod subdued them.

They had hitherto received no satisfactory answer to their inquiries respecting the crew of the Matilda, a vessel which, as stated in a previous chapter, had been lost some years before their arrival. At length, however, two of them came on board—Swedes—dressed in the teboota and maro, and tattooed also about the legs and arms, after the manner of the natives. They learned from the younger, Andrew Cornelius Lind, a native of Stockholm, aged about thirty, that, after the loss of the Matilda, the crew took to the boats, and, bearing towards Otaheite, landed on the isle March the 6th, 1792; that the captain and most of the crew had since gone home by different methods; and that six of them had decked one of their boats and set off towards New Holland, which it was improbable they had ever reached. The other Swede, Peter Haggerstein, aged forty, a native of Elsinfors, in Swedish Finland, was left at Otaheite by the Captain of the Dædalus. Both the Swedes spoke tolerable English, and, from their perfect acquaintance with the Otaheitean tongue, it was reasonably hoped, that, in the capacity of interpreters, they might render good service. They informed the people of the Duff that Manne Manne, the aged chief priest of Eimeo and Otaheite, had formerly been king of Ulietea, was grandfather to Otoo the king, and a man of consequence. Upon learning this, the Captain invited the old man into the cabin, and treated him with kindness. The sagacious priest now redoubled his importunities to have the Captain for his tayo. The Captain desired him to wait till to-morrow, that he might consider of it. The aged suitor awoke at break of day, and, impatient to form the league of tayoship with the Captain, roused him likewise. Such importunity could no longer be resisted; moreover, it was sound policy to close with a personage of such pretensions, relations, and functions. This sacred, temporary engagement was thus made. Manne Manne exchanged names with the

Captain, and then, wrapping a long piece of cloth around him, put a teboota over his head. The native tayo supplies his friend, so long as he remains, with cocoa-nuts, and every kind of food and refreshment, in return for which he expects a small present of nails, beads, and the like, and, at parting, the gift of a hatchet or some article of hardware. On the present occasion the priest, as a beginning, demanded a musket, shot, and powder; and being informed that there were none to spare, but that he might rely upon ample compensation ultimately for his kindness, he seemed satisfied.

The Swedes stated, that the former Otoo, or sovereign, had, according to custom, transferred his name and title, of Earee rahie, or king, to his son, and now assumed the name of Pomarre, but that he continued to perform all the offices of state as his son's prime minister. Old Manne Manne, however, as high priest of the island, although an apparently mean and humble individual, exercised the chief control. To him, therefore, the Captain applied for a house and land to the Missionaries. The old man entered cordially into the business, and took him and some of them to a large house standing on the extremity of Point Venus. It had been built by Pomarre for Captain Bligh, who had said he would come back and reside in it. This was a spacious building of an oblong figure, one hundred and eight feet long, and forty-eight wide. Four large wooden pillars, about eighteen feet high, stood in the middle and supported the ridge tree of the fabric. About three feet within the sides stood pillars all round, about nine feet long, and six feet distant from each other; on the top of these a plank was laid, which ran round the whole house; large poles were rested on this plank, and laid close to the ridge, about eighteen inches asunder, and handsomely bound round with fine matting. On this the thatch was laid, of palm-tree leaves, most beautifully worked. About a foot from these pillars, on the outside, ran a screen of bamboo all round, except about twenty feet on both sides in the middle. Pyteah, the chief of the district, welcomed them to the island, said the house was theirs, and should be cleared for their reception next day.

The natives exulted in the thought of men coming from "Pretane" to settle among them.

On the 7th, Manne Manne, faithful to his word, came early along-side, with three hogs, fowls, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and a quantity of native cloth; the whole intended for a present to his tayo, the Captain. He then made a long oration, detailing and describing all the ships and captains who had touched at Otaheite, with the names of the gods of Ulietea; he also stated that Otaheite had no gods but from him, acknowledging, at the same time, that the British God was the best, and promising to request King Otoo to worship him, and order his subjects to do the same. The high-priest gave his tayo another proof of the sincerity of his barbarous friendship. He had brought five of his wives with him on board, none of them exceeding fifteen years of age, desiring permission to sleep in the cabin, and according to the custom of his country, very cordially offering Captain Wilson his choice of the five, and could hardly persuade himself that the Captain was serious in declining; nor did he fail, next morning, to inquire of them which had been selected. This drew from the Captain a discourse on the subject of polygamy. The priest disliked the Captain's doctrine, but the ladies thought it very excellent. Manne Manne now laboured to persuade the Captain to go to Eimeo with the ship, and there to land the Missionaries under his protection. In this his motives seemed selfish, and the commander adhered to the original purpose. About eleven o'clock in the morning, therefore, Captain Wilson, Mr. Jefferson, and a few of the Missionaries, accompanied by Manne Manne and Peter the Swede, went on shore. The natives had assembled on the beach to the number of several hundreds; and as the boat approached the land, some persons rushed into the water, hauled her aground, and, taking the Captain and Missionaries on their backs, carried them on shore, where they were received by Otoo the king, and his queen Tetua, both carried on the shoulders of men. They each took the Captain by the hand, and, in wondering silence, surveyed him attentively, looking in his face, and minutely examining every part of his dress. They viewed

the brethren also with similar curiosity. The queen opened Mr. Cover's shirt at the breast, and wrist-bands, and seemed astonished at so clear a sight of the blue veins.

The Captain now proceeded to business, and informed the king, through Peter the Swede, that their only motive in leaving Pretane was to benefit them; and that for this end some of his people intended to settle in Otaheite to teach them good things. On their part, the Captain required of the king the free gift of a piece of land sufficiently stocked with bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, and so large as to contain a garden, and to admit of the erection of houses. He also apprized the king, that they would not, on any account, participate in his wars, nor use arms but in self-defence; and that at all times they must be allowed to live free and unmolested among his subjects; that such were the conditions of their coming to the island, with which, if he complied, they would settle; but otherwise they would go elsewhere. Much pains were taken to make this great point plain; but, from the vacant look and seeming stupidity of his majesty, it was doubted whether he understood the half of it. He signified, however, that the large house was their own, and that they might take what land they pleased. So far all was well, and the arrival of his father Pomarre enabled the Captain fully to adjust this important matter. The youth being still a minor, the weight of the government rested upon the parent. Then Manne Manne stood forth in the middle of the ring, and made a long speech full of encomiums on Pretane. At the close, the king, still holding the Captain by the hand, led him to the house, thence to the beach, and so on, hither and thither, till, tired, he requested to return on board. On reaching the boat, the sovereign wished to hear the muskets fired; and to gratify him, the four pieces were discharged twice, a compliment which seemed highly to gratify him. Otoo was a tall, well-made youth, aged about seventeen years; his queen handsome and finely proportioned, about the same age, and on shore always carried about on men's shoulders. Their majesties, knowing there were women and children on board, expressed a wish to see them; they walked up to the ship's side to show

themselves, when the royal pair set up a shout of admiration and wonder.

On the morning of the 8th, the Missionaries went on shore with their chests and beds, and took possession of their house, which was partitioned, enclosed, and put into convenient order. In this work they were largely assisted by the natives, while some of the arreoies of Ulietea carried on their sports and freaks before the door of the house, with the apparent desire of pleasing the English, little anticipating the ultimate destruction of their detestable association, by these mysterious strangers. While the missionaries worked, Manne Manne attended to their necessities; he sent them in three hogs ready dressed for dinner, with baked bread fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other articles. The venerable priest laid the whole on a large piece of cloth, and invited them to come and share his bounty. Having given thanks to God, they took and ate, and found it very good, though they had neither dish, spoon, knife, fork, table, nor chair. Presents innumerable came in from the various chiefs that were courting the friendship of the brethren, who were all dressed in Otaheitean cloth. At the approach of night the Missionaries commanded silence, and, after singing a hymn, Mr. Jefferson offered up prayer. During the whole time, the natives were very orderly, and seemed attentive. The Missionaries then requested the natives to retire, and return in the morning; this they did in the most peaceful manner, and the brethren received not the least disturbance from them. They then held their usual family worship; and, having supped on the abundance of their remaining provisions, retired to rest, for the first time, on the bosom of the famous isle, admiring the wondrous providence of God.

On the following day, the business of the house proceeded; and on the 10th, the Captain landed, that he might present some dresses to their majesties, who met him at the beach as usual. Peter the Swede informed them of the Captain's object, and showing Otoo the box, which contained the treasure, desired him to walk towards his house, a temporary shed which had been erected for the convenience of being near the English. With this he complied; and when

the procession came near, the Captain, stopping under a tree, ordered them to form a ring, and placing the box of beauty in the midst, requested Otoo to alight from the shoulders of his bearer, that the brethren might dress him. The sovereign of Otaheite did not relish such freedoms; he asserted his dignity, and his right to choose his own time, by replying, "By and bye." He continued for a considerable period to sit fixed in a sullen gaze, till the Captain's patience was nearly out. Repeating the request, and receiving no answer, the box was immediately opened, and the showy London dress designed for the queen exhibited. At the glorious sight, she immediately leaped from the shoulders of her bearer, and the sulky monarch quickly followed her example. The fancy cap perfectly fitted, and the surrounding crowd gazed with admiration on their queen. Her majesty, true to the foible of her sex, was filled with delight, but the king gave no glory to the tailors of Europe, saying, "an axe, a musket, a knife, or pair of scissors, were more valuable;" a remark which the Captain and the crew had not believed him capable of making. Just as the ceremony was closed, Manne Manne, ever faithful to his tayo, came and clothed Captain Wilson with a Taheitean dress, putting over all an elegant breast-plate. They then walked towards the British house, where they found the work proceeding in a very satisfactory manner; and, it being past noon, the aged priest accompanied the Captain on board to dinner.

On the 11th, the brethren apprized the natives, that the next day being the day of the Eatooa—the Lord's day—no work would be done, nor anything received; they therefore brought provisions to serve till Monday, but such an abundance as might have sufficed for a week. The house being nearly ready for the women and children, it was determined to land them in the afternoon. On the pinnace proceeding to the shore with them, the beach was crowded with natives, eager to gratify their curiosity; but all were peaceful and behaved with great respect. They surrounded the house all the afternoon, much delighted with the two children, and often sending for them and the women to show themselves at the door. Before departing on Saturday night, the natives

were informed that no work would be done next day, when they inquired whether it would be more devoted to prayer than the other days, and were answered in the affirmative. The Sunday passed quietly away; not one canoe came near the vessel. At three o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Jefferson addressed such as were present, through Andrew the Swede; they were all attention; and on understanding a little what was said, they put very pertinent questions. They asked whether the message of the British God was to the *toutous*, as well as to the king and chiefs; and received appropriate answers.

On Monday the 13th, all were in motion again, at an early hour; among the first visitors was the indefatigable and faithful Manne Manne, who brought several chiefs and their wives; but the principal to be introduced was Otew, the father of Pomarre, formerly Whappai, a very venerable looking man, aged about seventy, his head covered with grey hairs, and his beard white as the driven snow. As usual, he presented the captain with a piece of cloth and a pig, receiving in return, and on account of his rank, two axes, four pairs of scissors, four knives, two looking-glasses, and two old shirts, which was all he asked for. When breakfast was ready, most of the visitors, apparently from a sense of propriety, left the cabin for the deck, but Manne Manne felt identified with his tayo, the Captain, and accordingly sat down by his side, where, being an admirer of tea and bread and butter, he rather played the part of an epicurean. In the forenoon, the king and queen sent their presents to the Captain,—that of the king consisted of thirteen live hogs, and three ready dressed; the queen's was one dressed, six alive, and a bale of cloth. They themselves followed in a large double canoe, accompanied by Otoo's younger brother, now Prince of Tiarraboo. They would not come on board, but expressed a wish for a great gun to be fired; and to gratify them, two were cast loose; the brave Manne Manne took the match, and, though almost blind with age, he boldly fired them off—an act with which he was highly transported.

The afternoon of this day was signalized by the appear-

ance of a mighty personage. Pomarre and his wife Iddeah having just arrived from Tiarraboo, about four o'clock, paid their first visit to the ship. The ex-king was not deficient in self-respect. He came with a large train; but when alongside he refused to come further till the captain showed himself. On the commander's appearance, the prince immediately ascended the Duff, and proceeding to the quarter-deck, he wrapped four pieces of cloth round the captain as his own present; then taking that off, he repeated the operation in the name of Iddeah. While thus employed, joy seemed to beam in his countenance. The officers of the Duff considered him an image of good nature, very different from the morose figure which affects to represent him in some editions of Cook's voyages. His character, indeed, had long stood well with thousands in Europe, who had heard so much of the hospitality and kindness of this savage governor to his visitors. The first ceremonies being over, he told the captain that he would send provisions, and whatever the ship had occasion for, while she staid at Otaheite. He professed his regard for the English, and called King George his friend. To this it was responded that King George loved him, and that the eareos of Pretane did the same; that, out of regard to him and his people, they had sent this ship with some of their best men in order to do them good. The captain then desired to know whether a part of those sent might reside on his island. He promptly answered in the affirmative. The subject of land for their use was next introduced, when he nobly replied, that the whole district of Matavai should be at their disposal, to do with it what they pleased; observing that Pyteah, the present chief of the district, was a good old man, capable of rendering them important service, and that he, according to orders which should be given him, would enforce obedience from the natives, and cause them to bring whatever should be wanted of the produce of the district.

Business being settled, the prince thought it time to proceed to pleasure. His first inquiry was for sky-rockets, next the violin and dancing, and lastly the Scotch bagpipe, which he humorously described by putting a bundle of cloth

under his arm, and twisting his body like a Highland piper. When informed that the people of the Duff had none of these things, disappointment and dejection were manifest. Pomarre intimated a wish to sleep on board, which was granted; he then asked leave for his wife and servant, which was also allowed. The prince made himself at home; at supper he devoured a whole fowl, with the addition of about two pounds of pork, and drank a like proportion of liquid.

On the 14th, the Captain presented Pomarre with a watch, which greatly pleased him; it was the first of the kind he had ever received. Peter the Swede was directed to manage the wondrous machine, and daily to wind it up for him. Pomarre, his young wife, and Iddeah, who was also his wife, but had ceased to live with him, and the old priest, breakfasted and dined on board. They were very fond of the tea, and at dinner the governor and Manne Manne drank the wine with savage eagerness. The Captain manifested reluctance to indulge Manne Manne to the extent of his desires, but the priest defended his conduct on the dreadful ground, that he was going on shore to sacrifice a man to the Eatooa! He, therefore, sought the wine to raise his courage to the point of murder! This frank avowal called forth a strong expression of horror from the shuddering company; the priest, observing it, was silent; and Peter the Swede cautioned him to mention such things no more. In the afternoon Pomarre and Iddeah visited the house, and with delight and wonder surveyed the improvements. They took tea with the Missionaries, when one of his attendants poured the tea from the cup into the saucer, and then held it to his mouth, his dignity not permitting him to feed himself. The English were surprised to see so gigantic a man, "perhaps the largest in the whole island, fed like a cuckoo;" but such in Otaheite, as well as in the East, were the manners of the great. When the noble savage had finished his meal, he requested the saucer to be kept for his future use, and gave orders that no woman should be permitted to touch it.

On the 15th, an important communication was made to Pomarre, who, with his attendants, was at family worship. When that was ended, they told him the nature of their

mission, viz., to teach them to know and serve their God and Saviour; to instruct them to read and understand the speaking book of wisdom; and to instruct them in all useful arts. The prince applauded the proposal; and said it was "mi ty, mi ty," *very good;* adding that he would send his sons for instruction.

The 16th witnessed the formal cession of the district of Matavai to the Missionaries; the Captain, therefore, landed upon Point Venus, where he was received by the chief, and conducted near to the Missionary house. Most of the brethren from the ship, and all on shore, were present at this ceremony. Peter the Swede sustained, as usual, the office of interpreter. The scene of this great event was laid before the door of the Missionary house, at some distance from which a rope was stretched to keep off the crowd. Pomarre, Iddeah, Otoo, his wife and brothers, went also without the rope. Manne Manne, who alone acted the part of conveyancer, remained within with the Captain and brethren. He then commanded Peter to interpret all that he should say to the Captain. Prefacing his oration with "towa, towa," *hear!* to excite general attention; he proceeded to enumerate all the Eatooas of Otaheite, Eimeo, and the Society Isles; next, the districts and their chiefs, in regular order; and lastly, the ships and their commanders, from Wallis, Bougainville, and Cook, down to the Duff and her Captain, concluding with the formal surrender of the district of Matavai; adding, that they might take what houses, trees, fruits, hogs, and other necessaries they thought proper. This strange harangue was delivered with great deliberation; the aged orator, while he spoke, sat in an odd posture, half bent upon his heels, with one hand holding the rope, and with the other alternately scratching his head, and rubbing his eyes. His countrymen caught these peculiarities, and afterwards turned them into humorous pantomime.

The wily priest now endeavoured to turn the English alliance to account. He wished the Captain to assist him in going to war with the people of Ulietea, of which he had formerly been king, but had been expelled from his throne. The Captain said he had no orders to fight, unless in self-

defence, but that other ships might come, with less scruples, to aid him in warlike enterprises. The priest replied he might be dead before that happened. To this the Captain responded, "Well, then, your son may act in your place, and be reinstated in your kingdom." The priest smartly rejoined, "I would rather see it done with my own eyes."

During the afternoon of the 18th, Pomarre and Iddeah came on board, accompanied by Manne Manne, and Peter the interpreter. Now followed an amusing specimen of princely pride and savage cupidity. A present of cloth was made to the Captain, and by a large chest which they had brought with them in the canoe, it was clear they expected an ample return. The Captain, affecting not to understand, as they handed up the chest, inquired of the prince what he meant to do with it. He was in great perplexity how to answer; but at last said, that he only wanted the lock repaired. He was then directed to take it on shore to the blacksmith; but this greatly added to his embarrassment, which, however, he at once broke through by frankly declaring that it was intended for the present which the Captain might be pleased to make to him and Iddeah. When seated below, he was asked what he would like to have; and was at a loss what articles to name; but the cunning and able priest, whose wits were always ready, helped him out. He began with axes, *ahowroo, ahowroo,* that is twice ten, ten for himself, and ten for Iddeah; then for each, five shirts, eight looking-glasses, six pairs of scissors, six knives, fifty nails, and five combs; besides these, to the prince's part were added, one cast-iron pot, one razor, and one blanket. The whole were put into the chest, and secured by the lock, which was excellent. The barbarian professed to be content; but going afterwards between decks, he craved something of all that he saw; but as the people knew what he had already received, they gave him very little.

On sabbath, the 19th, was performed a service, the first of the kind ever held in the Pacific. The brethren intended for the Friendly Isles, considering that none of the ordained ministers were to accompany them, chose from their number Mr. Seth Kelso to be their pastor, and urged upon those on

shore the propriety of ordaining him and John Harris, previous to their departure. This proposition was cordially entertained, and carried into effect on this memorable day. The natives, knowing they were to be addressed, early assembled in numbers around the missionary dwelling, together with Pomarre and his sister. The prince had some days before been inquiring about this matter, and said he had "been dreaming about the book which should be sent him from the Eatooa." At ten o'clock they called the natives together under the cover of some shady trees near the house; and a long form being placed, Pomarre was requested to seat himself on it with the brethren, the rest of the natives standing or sitting in a circle around them. Mr. Cover then addressed them from—"God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that they who believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life," while Peter the Swede interpreted sentence by sentence to the people. The Otaheiteans were silent, and attended with solemnity. After service, Pomarre took Mr. Cover by the hand, and said, "Mi ty, mi ty," very good. When asked, "If he had understood what was said;" he replied, "There have been no such things before in Otaheite; and they are not to be learned at once; but I will wait the coming of the Eatooa," that is, God. Desiring to know if he might be permitted to attend again, he was informed "By all means." He was then conducted to the house, where he and his wife dined with the Missionaries, and afterwards departed.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, commenced the ordination service of Kelso and Harris, who were set apart to their work by the imposition of the hands of the ordained brethren. Mr. Cover preached the ordination sermon, and delivered the charge; Mr. Jefferson put the usual questions, and Lewis and Eyre conducted the devotional exercises. The communion of the Lord's Supper closed the interesting service. Eventful day! blessed institution! For the first time since Otaheite became the residence of man, its bread-fruit was used as the symbol of the broken body of Christ, and received in commemoration of his dying love. Poor Manne Manne, the great high-priest of insular idolatry,

was present during the whole service, and full of inquisitive attention, especially during the dispensation of the ordinance of the Supper, when he placed himself in the circle with the brethren, and when they passed him by in the distribution, he shifted his position further on, in hope of still partaking with them.

On Monday, the 20th, Pomarre, Iddeah, and all the Saturday's guests, visited the ship, bringing more cloth and some fowls for sea-stock. They staid to dinner, when the prince, fed by the hand of his head man, ate heartily, and drank a large share of a bottle of wine, evincing rather a covetous desire for it, as he would hardly allow poor Manne Manne to have a glass with him. Pomarre fared much better in respect of wine than Dr. Haweis appears to have done at the hands of Captain Wilson. On the appearance of rain, the company took their leave, wishing the Captain, who was about to sail, a good voyage, and expressing a hope of his speedy return.

As Peter the Swede had offered to go with the Duff to the Friendly Islands, the Captain consented, thinking that he might be serviceable as interpreter. The natives understood that the Duff was now about to leave Otaheite for some months, but the Captain's intention was to lie a few days at Eimeo, and, previous to setting off for the Marquesas, to touch again in Matavai Bay, that they might learn how the natives were likely to behave during their absence.

CHAPTER VII.

VOYAGE TO EIMEO AND RETURN TO OTAHEITE, AND TRANSACTIONS THERE DURING THE ABSENCE OF THE DUFF.

Voyage to Eimeo—Taloo Harbour—Fire-arms—Dexterity in Diving and Theft—Revisit of the Duff to Otaheite—Departure for Tongataboo—Abolition of the Committee—Dr. Gilham—Kindness of the Natives—Child-murder—Royal Robbery—Smith's Shop—Monthly Meeting—Cuckoo Clock—Native Logic—Fever removed—Thief caught—The Monkey King—Female Vice—Arreoi Society.

On the 21st, about an hour before daylight, the Duff weighed anchor, and by ten o'clock she was off the north-east part of Eimeo, and made straight for Taloo harbour, which is considered one of the most beautiful in the world. The width at the entrance is about a quarter of a mile; the lovely bay within is about two miles broad and three long. It is delightfully surrounded with trees, and so perfectly land-locked, that not the least agitation of the water is perceptible on the beach, from whatever quarter or with whatever fierceness the wind may blow. The lofty mountains, rising almost from the water's brink, completely sheltered the ship from the reach of storms, and the billows of the ocean had spent their force before they reached this secure retreat. Eight of the brethren, on the morning of the 22d, proceeded in the jolly-boat to a fresh-water creek at the head of the harbour, intending to wash their linen, but returned in terror without accomplishing their object. Multitudes of people were seen running along the shore, some with white sticks in their hands, others, with clappers of pearl oyster-shells, appeared to be convening together more of their countrymen, and when the Missionaries landed, they were crowding from all quarters. Their deportment, however, was peaceable, and those who held spears showed the brethren in what manner they used them. But their numbers increasing, the Missionaries took flight, and hastened on board the vessel.

Soon after, under the influence of fear,—always a bad adviser—a council was held to consider the propriety of taking arms on shore with them at Tongataboo. The result, after a lengthened discussion, was the adoption, by a majority, of the weak and ill-advised resolution, to take muskets for the defence of their persons and property,—a resolution approved by Harper, Kelso, Nobbs, Shelly, Veeson, and Wilkinson, but opposed by Bowell, Buchanan, and Cooper.

All the day a multitude of canoes kept paddling around the Duff; and a great number of persons who had only a log of wood, and some not even that, sported in the water for several hours together; and if a small trinket were thrown into the sea, they would dive some fathoms after it, and almost invariably bring it up. Their visits were not confined to the day. That very night, which was exceedingly dark, about eleven o'clock, the watch saw a naked native, standing in the main chains, and attempting to seize him, he leaped into the water, and escaped, taking with him four yards of the electric chain. On the 24th, at the time of dinner, a canoe came close under the stern, and a tall native getting on the back of the rudder, reached his hand, and snatched a book, which lay just within the cabin window, and instantly falling back plunged into the water. This action was deemed too daring to be overlooked, as it might encourage greater depredations; a few small shot were, therefore, fired, which made the thief and his fellows take to the water, and skulk behind the canoe. Two of the seamen in the jolly-boat, vainly tried to catch the offender, for, with the dexterity of a wild duck in the water, he eluded all their attempts to seize him; and it was only with the aid of the pinnace, and the superadded terror of a musket, that he was taken at last. When he was brought alongside, he trembled through fear of being put to death, and struggled hard to get into the water again; but fixing a rope around his body, he was hoisted on board, and tied with outstretched arms to the mizen shrouds, as an example to his countrymen, who stood ranged along the beach, in expectation of his punishment. As Peter the Swede was on shore at this time, the delinquent was kept bound till his

return, when Peter was instructed to give him a sound lecture, and caution him against a repetition of his offence. He promised better behaviour in future, and on being released, with great joy he hastened on shore. This attempt excited the suspicions of the Captain and officers, hence orders were given to keep a good look-out the ensuing night; and in the anticipation of thieves, two muskets were placed in readiness. They were not disappointed; for about one o'clock in the morning, when it was pitchy dark, a man was heard swimming under the ship's bows, close to the cable, probably with an intent to cut it. The discharge of a musket prevented his purpose being accomplished, and sent him in great haste to the shore.

The Duff weighed on the 25th, and about four in the afternoon of the 26th, she revisited Otaheite, and tacked close in with One Tree Hill, where she hoisted her colours, and fired a gun. Messrs. Cover, Lewis, Henry, Gilham, and others, came off in a double canoe, and reported that all was well; that the behaviour of the chiefs was admirable, and that the people, in addition to good conduct, continued to supply them plentifully with all the provisions that the island afforded. Nothing could exceed their kindness and attention, every day they attended worship, and heard what was addressed to them through the interpreter. This first experiment of the ship's absence had removed all the brethren's fears; and they beheld the Duff quit the harbour, only with the tenderness of parting friends, who hoped soon to meet again, wishing their missionary brethren God-speed in the several places of their destination, yet not without many tears. Leaving the Duff for a little to pursue her voyage, we proceed to rehearse such transactions as took place during her absence.

On the departure of the vessel for Tongataboo, the Missionaries were left alone in the field of labour, and began to realize their true condition, the nature of the duties which they had to perform, and the difficulties with which such performance was likely to be attended. Individual temper and character also began to be displayed in a manner very different from the constrained and artificial exhibitions which

had taken place on the passage from England. Previous speculations respecting methods of carrying on the work, on actual experiment were found to be the dreams of childhood. The committee, formerly noticed, was soon dissolved, and the office of president and store-keeper abolished; all public measures were debated, adopted, or rejected by the whole body, and all matters settled by a majority. Such a mode of procedure among men so different in their habits, manners, training, and intelligence, could not be expected to work well. Accordingly we find, that, in the case of Dr. Gilham, a gentleman and a man of science, the majority voted a measure, which a committee of judicious and educated men would never have entertained. He naturally and justly expected, that he should be exempted from any laborious employment, that he might devote his time to medical pursuits; but they first expressed a wish, that he should take his turn as cook, a proposition with which he condescendingly complied; and at length he was doomed to the drudgery and the degradation of perpetual cook—an indignity to which he could not submit, and which, with other circumstances, led to his return by the Duff to Europe.* This treatment of the Doctor was the less excusable as the missionary body comprised a number of females, and the Otaheiteans might have been trained to assist in culinary operations, which, from necessity, were both few and simple. This, indeed, they ultimately did: for we find an entry in the Missionary Journals, that on April the 3rd, they took three Otaheiteans to assist in their cookery, and to attend to their hogs. The brethren's treatment from the natives, and their early pursuits, will be best illustrated by their own journals, during the period which elapsed between the departure of the Duff, and her return to Otaheite.

"April 3rd.—Took three Otaheiteans to assist in our cookery and attend our hogs. The king and queen brought a large present of cocoa-nuts to brother Cover and his wife, desiring to become their adopted children, and promising to regard them as their father and mother. Pomarre and Id-

* See Veeson's Narrative, p. 84.

deah brought a larger in the evening, and begged them to receive the king and queen as their own progeny. The women crossed the river to visit the garden and the country around; the king followed them, and paid them every mark of attention, directing them to the best roads, and ordering his attendants to provide cocoa-nuts for their refreshment. It is incredible to see the quantity of provisions poured in upon us; we have not less than a waggon-load of fruits, besides the multitudes of hogs and poultry.

"5th.—Our daily royal visitors have taken up their abode of late at Matavai, on purpose to be near us. Pomarre brought a chair to be repaired, which the Captain had given him, with a musket and fowling-piece: these we excused ourselves from repairing, except the chair, till the smith had set up his forge; but he left them with us. Their huts very much resemble a travelling camp of gypsies.

"6th.—Early this morning Otoo sent ten men to prepare wood for erecting the blacksmith's shop. Our brethren* from Eimeo returned and made us the pleasing report, that they had been very kindly received by the natives, who never attempted to steal any of our tools, and were ready to give us every assistance. Brother J. Puckey, on the Lord's Day, had addressed them by Andrew; they heard attentively, and said it was very good; but it could be of no use to them to change their religion, as the brethren would so soon leave them, and carry away THE BOOK. We assured them we would return and teach them again very soon. The natives replied, if any of the chiefs embraced our religion, they should follow.

"8th.—One of the arreoies, the tayo of brother Henry, came to us with his wife big with child; they were taking their leave of us, in order, during their absence, to destroy the infant which should be born, according to the ordinance of that diabolical society. We thought this a proper opportunity to remonstrate with them against this horrid custom. The mother felt with tenderness, and appeared willing to spare the infant; but the brutal chief continued obstinately

* Puckey and Cock, who had gone, on the 27th of March, to the adjacent island of Eimeo, to complete and launch a vessel for Manne Manne.

bent on his purpose, though he acknowledged it a bloody act, pleading the established custom, his loss of all privileges, and the dissolution of the society, if this should become general. We offered to build them a house for the pregnant women, and take every child which should be born into our immediate care. We threatened him, that such an unnatural act would exclude him from our friendship for ever; and more, that the Eatooa, our God, would certainly punish him. He said, if he saw the arreoies destroyed by the Eatooa for it, he would desist; and asked if their forefathers were suffering for these practices. Our brethren failed not to open to him the wrath of God against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men. On this he walked off dejected, but not apparently determined to desist from the evil or danger of his ways. A few days afterwards he came, and promised, if the child were born alive, he would bring it to us; and, on another visit afterwards with his wife, renewed his promise, on forfeiture of our favour.

"Manne Manne returned from Oparre with abundance of clothes and provision for all the brethren. We took the opportunity to inform Pomarre, that next day we should speak to them the *parow no t'Eatooa*, the word of God; and invited them to come, which they promised.

"9th.—Brother Lewis preached from 'Thou shalt not kill,' to the king, queen, Manne Manne, and a number of the natives, who heard with serious attention, and said, *My ty te parow no Pretane ima tipperahai mydide, ima pohhe roa te taata*—Good is the word of Britain, not to kill children, not to sacrifice men. The high priest whispering something, we asked him what he said; he answered, he told the people to leave off their wicked ways.

"Pomarre and Iddeah came at noon, and going into the married brethren's apartment, found them conversing with the arreoies on the evil of destroying infants. Iddeah was particularly addressed on the subject, as she too was pregnant by a toutou, who cohabited with her, and was also of the arreoy society. Pomarre and Iddeah had for some time ceased to cohabit; he had taken another wife, and she one

of her servants; but they lived in the same state of friendship, and with no loss of dignity. The brethren endeavoured to convince her of the dreadfulness of murder, in a mother especially. They promised to receive the child immediately, and it should be no trouble to her; but she was sullen, and made no reply. They then addressed Pomarre, and entreated his interference in suppressing such acts of inhumanity; and to give orders that no more human sacrifices should be offered. He replied, he would; said, that Captain Cook told him it should not be done; but did not stay long enough to instruct them. One of the brethren then said, that we were come for that express purpose, and hoped he would hearken to our counsel; pointing out all the danger and disadvantage to themselves, and warning them that if they despised our instructions, and continued in their wicked practices, we should leave them and go to another island, where we could hope for more attention. Pomarre was evidently affected by what was said; and especially could not bear the thought of our leaving him; and promised he would use all his authority to put an end to these practices. He indeed appears of a teachable disposition, and open to conviction. Manne Manne came in during this conversation; and we told him freely, that, if he offered any more human sacrifices, he would utterly forfeit our friendship, and must consider us as his enemies. He replied, he certainly would not. On this we informed him, that our Lord knew his heart, whether he was sincere in his promises.

"We renewed our attempts upon Iddeah, invited her to continue with us, and suffer our women to take care of her child; that her example would have the happiest effects upon the nation; and, knowing her eagerness for European cloth, we promised her three shirts, and any other articles when the ship arrived; yea more, that we would report her conduct to Queen Charlotte and the British earee ladies, to whom nothing would more endear her; and that the next ship would assuredly bring her very valuable presents. She said the child was base-born; had it been Pomarre's it

would have lived; but that now they were arreoics;—and marched off with her paramour, who sat by and heard with utter indifference.

" 12th.—This day Iddeah appeared again in public, and Manne Manne communicated to us the afflictive intelligence that she had murdered her new-born babe; it was therefore resolved by the brethren, that no more presents should be received from Iddeah, and that our marked disapprobation of her conduct should be shown whenever she came to our house.

" 14th.—Pomarre and Iddeah came with a vast present of hogs and vegetables, which were separated into four parcels. We asked Pomarre from whom they came; we thankfully accepted his, but refused to touch those which Iddeah offered, and assigned our reasons, which Andrew communicated. She was highly offended; said she had a right to do with her children as she pleased, and should observe the customs of the country without minding our displeasure; and walked off with her toutou, leaving the present behind: a new chest which had been made for her, being her own materials, was given her, and she carried it off with her. Yet her unnatural crime did not utterly pass unpunished; a dreadful milk abscess brought her under the surgeon's knife, and repeated sharp rebukes; yet her heart appeared still hardened. She is of a bold daring spirit, and much more warlike than her husband Pomarre. Yet this is but one among many *unnatural crimes*, which we dare not name, committed daily, without the idea of shame or guilt."

It is worthy of notice, that, notwithstanding the predominance of all these horrid vices, yet, in the presence of the Missionaries, they never committed any unseemly act. Indeed they professed hardly to know what sort of persons the Missionaries were; they suspected they were not Englishmen; they considered them wholly unlike any class of white men that ever visited the island. The following extracts illustrate the rights of royalty and the character of the youthful sovereign.

" 15th.—Wanted plank for the blacksmith's shop; told the king. He said, *Harry mie*—come along. I thought

he had some ready; I went with him and six men; he carried me up the valley, and searching every house took what he liked: many of the people stoutly resisted, but his men would not leave a plank. I told the king, with whom we exercise the most entire familiarity, that he was a thief. 'No,' says he, 'it is the custom of Otaheite.'

"The king was carried on men's shoulders, and through such dangerous places, that he ran the greatest risk of breaking his bones; but he must not alight, as every place his foot touches becomes sacred, and his own ground. At last we arrived at a territory of his own; when alighting, he took a majestic stride, and stalking on, 'Puckey,' says he, 'is this as King George walks?' I told him 'Yes.' Having gone about three miles, I desired to return, though the king would have gone further, notwithstanding the rain."

The 18th was a great day among the poor savages. The smith's shop was finished, and brother Hodges, with Hassell, at work. The natives crowded round him, but were vastly frightened with the sparks, and the hissing of the iron in the water. Pomarre came to see the wonder; he was enraptured with the bellows and forge; and clasping the blacksmith in his arms, he joined noses with him, and expressed his high satisfaction. After work, the smiths proceeded to bathe in the river, when the young king laid hold of an arm of each, and went down with them to the water. Both king and priest preferred mechanism to the mysteries of the new religion. Indeed Manne Manne thought that less preaching and more presents would be an improvement. On the evening of the 21st, when Mr. Henry had finished a discourse to the natives, the high priest of idolatry said, "You give us plenty of the preaching, but not of many other things." The following important extract serves to illustrate the economy of the Mission at the outset.

"24th.—On a meeting of our society, we agreed to new regulations, abolishing the committee of five; and as each had his vote in our deliberations, a secretary only was thought necessary, and a president to be chosen at each meeting. We drew up rules for every day's work: the bell to ring at six; to be assembled for prayer in half an hour;

to labour till ten at our various occupations; to spend from ten till three in mental improvement; from three till night at our usual employment; bell to ring at seven for prayer, and the journal to be read."

Amid all their industry they were not negligent of their spiritual interests. The entry of May 5th, shows, that they resorted to an admirable method of improvement, closely resembling a Methodist class:—"May 5th. Held a meeting preparatory to the communion. Brother Lewis, as eldest minister, after prayer, examined every one with great fidelity and tenderness, giving such exhortation and reproof as was necessary. A happy openness of mind and melting of heart prevailed; and symptoms of genuine contrition for any past improprieties toward each other. This was the first meeting of the kind we had held; and it was truly profitable. We experienced something of the healing and refreshing presence of God with us. Resolved such meeting should be monthly."

On the 7th, the Missionaries received a visit from a man of great distinction, Temarree, a chief priest from Papara, reputed equal to Manne Manne. He was dressed in a wrapper of Otaheitean cloth, and over it an officer's coat doubled round him. At his first approach he appeared timid, and had to be invited in: he was but just seated when the cuckoo clock struck, and filled him with astonishment and terror. Old Pyetea had brought the bird some bread-fruit, observing it must be starved if we never fed it. At breakfast, the Missionaries invited Temarree to sit down with them; but the venerable idolater first held out his hand with a bit of plantain, and looked very solemn, which one of the natives said was an offering to the Eatooa; the brethren were required to receive it; accordingly when they had taken it out of his hand and laid it under the table, he sat down, and made a hearty breakfast. The following passage supplies at once some important historic facts, and also a specimen of South Sea logic.

"May 9th.—Temarree accompanied the king and queen, and staid to dine with us. He is, we find, of the royal race, and son of the famed Oberea. He is the first chief of the

island, after Pomarre, by whom he has been subdued, and now lives in friendship with him, and has adopted his son. He is also high in esteem as a priest. His name of Eatooa engaged our conversation. We told him the Eatooa could not die, as he must. A bystanding native said, that he must be a bad Eatooa, indeed, for he had himself seen one of his kind killed with a musket; and that they were no gods who could be killed."

On returning from a journey in which some of the brethren made the circuit of the greater peninsula, Mr. Broomhall was visited with a sharp attack of fever. One of the priests told him, that this sickness was inflicted upon him by the Otaheite Eatooa, who was angry and would kill him. Broomhall said he defied their god, who was a bad god, or rather no god; and that the great Jehovah, by whom he had been sent, would cure it the next day. The saying instantly spread abroad among the natives; and Broomhall began to fear that he had spoken unadvisedly, and that God might be dishonoured if his illness increased—a consideration which led to earnest prayer. The priest eagerly watched the event; he came to the sick Missionary as he turned on his bed, and asked if he should be well to-morrow. He replied, he trusted that the God whom he served would restore him. On the following night the fever abated, he slept soundly, and in the morning awoke refreshed, and rose as usual. During the day, many of the natives inquired if he was well, and seemed astonished at his recovery. The priest among the rest, "desired to know if the Pretane God had sent away the sickness;" Broomhall replied that he had, and took occasion to remonstrate with the priest about his superstitions, urging that the gods of Otaheite were no gods. The priest insisted that they had many gods, and said that they prayed the good ones to keep away the bad ones; and if he did not bless the food, the bad gods would enter into the men and kill them. Broomhall assured him that he was under no apprehension of the bad gods on that score, and that the priest might invoke their utmost vengeance; he should, notwithstanding, eat without fear. The priest said he had no wish to do him harm, and slunk away confounded

at the courage of the Missionary. The following facts serve to illustrate the cupidity of savage nature, and to show that it is a powerful abstract passion apart from all regard to utility.

"June 9th.—Dr. Gillham having his clothes stolen, while he was bathing, three or four of us pursued the thief; he fled. Hearing a drum, we hasted to the place, and having intelligence the thief was there, we rushed in, and seized him finely dressed for dancing; about a hundred fled in a minute; we begged them not to be frightened, as we only wanted the thief, whom we brought off, and chained to a pillar of the house; yet he contrived to go off with the padlock, but being pursued, it was recovered, and he was dismissed. None ever think of resisting; yet, strange to tell! though they will run any risk to steal, they scarcely ever use what they get, but lay it up. Pomarre and Otoo have each more articles than any among us, yet they produce none, wear only a piece of cloth round them, and are ever craving for more."

An entry of June the 12th and 14th, further illumines the state of those unhappy islanders by whom the Missionaries were surrounded. The passages are the following:—

"A fact was reported to us this day, which, if true, was shocking. In one of Captain Cook's visits, he left a great monkey, who was made a chief at Attahooroo; he had a wife and thirty servants, and abundance of everything. They called him *Taata ooree harrai*, the great man dog. One day the woman seeing him catch the flies and eat them, which they abominate, she ran away into the mountains; the monkey and his toutous pursued, but being met by Temarree, who was jealous of his authority, he knocked him down with a club, and killed him. One of our brethren this evening sitting in his berth writing, a young girl came in, and expressed her surprise, that we behaved so different to them from what all our countrymen had done. He told her that such practices were wicked, and that if we did such things our God would be angry. 'Oh,' said she, 'but I will come to you in the night, and then none can see us.' He replied, 'Nothing can be hid from our God; the night to him is as

bright as the day, and there is no darkness or shadow of death where any of the workers of wickedness can hide themselves. But, if you first put away your evil customs, then we should love you.'

"14th.—Visited by Mawroa, with a vast supply of vegetables; three arreoies accompanied him,—amazingly fat, and tattooed all over. This society is constantly wandering about from island to island. They are the finest persons we have seen; are said to have each two or three wives, whom they exchange with each other, and inhumanly murder every infant that is born among them. Wherever they go they exercise power to seize what they want from the inhabitants; they smite their hand on their breast, and say '*Harre*,'—give! whenever they covet anything; and none dares deny them. They never work; live by plunder; yet are highly respected, as none but persons of rank are admitted among them. This makes women so scarce, and other horrid vices so common. May God hasten the time of reformation!"

CHAPTER VIII.

VOYAGE TO TONGATABOO, AND SETTLEMENT OF THE MISSIONARIES.

Submarine Grotto—Savage Nations—Arrival at Tongataboo—Two vagabonds—Their Opinions—Moomooe—Native Curiosity—Conditions of Settlement—Conspiracy—Settlement of the Missionaries—Nocturnal Hospitality—Evil prevented—Parting Sadness.

The day following their departure from Matavai, they passed to the southward of the Society Islands, in sight of Huaheine, Ulietea, Otaha, and Bolabola, and then, with a fair wind, they shaped their course for Palmerston's Island. This island was discovered by Cook on his second voyage. The people of the Duff saw the beautiful submarine grotto, thus described in Cook's third voyage:—"At one part of the reef, which bounds the lake within, almost even with the surface, there is a large bed of coral, which affords a most enchanting prospect. Its base, which is fixed to the shore, extends so far that it cannot be seen, so that it appears to be suspended in the water. The sea was then unruffled, and the refulgence of the sun exposed the various sorts of coral in the most beautiful order; some parts luxuriantly branching into the water, others appearing in a vast variety of figures, and the whole heightened by spangles of the richest colours, glowing from a number of large clams interspersed in every part. Even this delightful scene was greatly improved by the multitude of fishes that gently glided along, seemingly with the most perfect security; their colours were the most beautiful that can be imagined, blue, yellow, black, red, &c., far excelling anything that can be produced by art." The Captain and officers of the Duff attest, that in this fascinating picture there is no exaggeration. On Wednesday, April 5th, they saw Savage Island—so named by Captain

Cook in 1774, in consequence of the ferocity of its inhabitants. On this matter the first officer of the Duff, in the journal of the voyage, remarks :—

" His (Captain Cook's) account of them shows the danger of landing among any of those islanders who have not previously had intercourse with Europeans; also the absolute necessity, when obliged to land, of being able to repel them by force when attacked. We ought to lay it down as a truth, that neither in places already known, where the inhabitants have acted constantly in a hostile manner, nor yet in new islands, which voyagers may discover, are the natives to be trusted with the power of their lives; for in general they are so tenacious of their territory, and of their canoes, so covetous of all we possess, and under a persuasion that all strangers are enemies, that they will, either by force or cunning, aim at the lives of those who are so unhappy as to place any confidence in them, till some friendly intercourse has been established."

The Duff then shaped her course for Tongataboo; and on Monday the 10th, they entered the harbour of this island, so celebrated for its sacredness by the idolatrous isles around. The inhabitants seemed frank, bold, and brave. Neither the Swedes nor Otaheiteans, however, on board the Duff, understood their language,* which created great difficulty in trading, and respecting the more important business of settling the Missionaries. After dinner, Futtafaihe, a chief of great power, was introduced to the Captain. This noble savage was about forty years of age, stout and handsomely made, of a countenance open and free, a dignified demeanour, and a gait so stately as at once to mark him out for a ruler of men. He surveyed everything with close attention, he talked freely in the cabin, but all that could be collected from it was, that he was a great chief, and that there were some white men on the island, whom he would bring the following day. Having received some presents, he was scarcely gone, when two Europeans made their appearance, and came on board with confidence and alacrity. The ears

* This fact is not easily harmonized with the representations of Cook and others, on the subject of a common language.

of all rejoiced to hear them speak the language of Englishmen, though the looks of the speakers were not attractive. From the future part assigned to these vagabonds, it is proper here to record some of the facts of their history as recited by themselves.*

Benjamin Ambler was born in the parish of Shadwell, London; he was a bold, talkative, presumptuous fellow; he seemed to speak the language fluently, and said he had acquired it with great facility. John Connelly was a native of Cork, Ireland, by trade a cooper, and a less imposing and commanding character than his companion. Ambler said they left London in the ship Otter, in which they sailed for America; and there, for the bribe of better wages, left her for an American vessel bound to the north-west coast for the fur trade. On their passage outwards, they touched at the islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam, and proceeded thence to the Friendly Islands, in search of refreshments, but having nothing except old iron hoops to barter, the natives would not part with their hogs—a circumstance which induced these two and four more, to leave the ship. The salt provisions, they said, were so bad that they could scarcely be eaten, and so scanty that they were put upon short allowance; dreading, therefore, that their condition might soon become worse, they requested the Captain to discharge them. This he accordingly did, and they landed upon Annamooka, where another American vessel called soon afterwards, and being in want of seamen, engaged three of their number. An Irishman, named Morgan, remained at Annamooka, and they two had been about thirteen months at Tongataboo. They were both young men, not exceeding the age of thirty.

Ambler stated, that Futtafaihe was a great chief, and presided over all the eastern part of the island, but that there was an old man, Tibo Moomooe, of superior power, and generally considered king of the island, who was then ill, but intended in a day or two to visit them. It appeared

* "They were convicts who escaped from Port Jackson in the same vessel with Mr. Muir, the Jacobin. They were recognised by several of Captain Garden's crew, whom he brought from Port Jackson in the Mercury, and appear to have arrived at Tonga, March, 1796."—Greatheed's MS. Notes.

that this ruler was celebrated for humanity to his subjects, and hospitality to strangers. The Captain now deemed it proper to apprize Ambler of his object, requesting his opinion of men settling at that place with such views as those cherished by the Missionaries. To this Ambler replied, that the natives would certainly receive them gladly, and treat them with kindness; but respecting property, he could give no assurance of safety. Connelly, who seemed to speak with greater candour, expressed the danger their lives would be in, if, possessing iron tools, they attempted to defend themselves from private robbers, a character which might apply to every man on the island, when such temptations as those instruments afford came in the way. As to a house, they had no doubt that Tibo Moomooe would give them one, and also protect their persons; but judged, that if all the ten lived with one chief, they would not be so well supplied with provision as if they were to separate to different parts of the island. They promised to consult Tibo Moomooe, and return to-morrow morning with his answer. About ten o'clock, accordingly, they came with a present of three hogs and some yams from Moomooe, at the same time stating, that the sovereign himself was to follow. He was, accordingly, very soon alongside, but his infirmities rendered it difficult for him to get on board. Having reached the ladder of the quarter deck, he sat down, declining to go before the Captain till he had been shaved. Mr. Harris soon finished that operation, much to the satisfaction of the decent savage, who then saluted the Captain, and entered the cabin, followed by twenty-two attendant chiefs and servants: these squatted upon the floor, but the great chief himself was placed in a chair, which he much admired; he thought he sat easy in it, and, requesting it as a present, had it immediately given him.

This man, by nature great and princely, and his chiefs, attentively surveyed the cabin with its furniture, expressing their admiration of all that they saw, and asking a number of very pertinent questions. They eagerly inquired of what wood the frames of the looking-glasses were made, apparently supposing the whole to be of a piece with the gilded outside;

and they put similar questions relative to the different coloured painted woods. Nor did they seem to admire the beauty of the whole, more than the neatness of every part of the workmanship. They examined minutely the jointing of the chairs and of the mahogany table, and expressed no small degree of astonishment at finding themselves so far excelled; for they cherished an idea of their own superiority to all their neighbours. When told, that the men whom the Duff had brought to live among them could teach them those arts, and also better things, they seemed quite transported. The Captain wisely seized this favourable opportunity to mention every circumstance that could tend to exalt their idea of the Missionaries, inquiring if Moomooe acquiesced in their residence with him, and also what provision he would make for their comfort. The magnanimous barbarian replied, that for the present they should have a house near his own, until one more suitable could be provided, with a portion of land for their use; that he would take care that neither their property nor persons should receive the slightest molestation; that, if they pleased, they might go on shore and examine the residence, and that if they did not like the situation, he would order it to be removed to any spot they might prefer,—an operation which he could have done in a few hours. For this purpose, the first officer, with Ambler and four Missionaries, went on shore. They found, within an enclosure of three or four acres, five houses; the largest, intended for the Missionaries, was thirty-six feet long, twenty broad, with a roof fifteen feet high in the middle, and sloping to the sides till only four feet from the ground, resting upon wood pillars, and open all around, the floor raised about one foot, and covered with thick clean matting. On the inside there hung, suspended from the cross beam, an anchor, about six hundred weight, of English form, and probably that which was lost by Cook in 1774. From this they passed to the other large house, which, according to Ambler, was sacred to the God of Pretane, and in which old Moomooe sleeps when indisposed, in expectation of a cure. On the floor, were four large conch-shells, with which they alarm the country in times of danger; and on the rafters

were placed spears, clubs, bows, and arrows, to receive from their imaginary deity supernatural virtue to render them successful against an enemy.

On various grounds this site was deemed ineligible, and it was resolved to send Ambler to Feenou Toogahowe, whose brother was so attached to Captain Cook, to propose that the Missionaries should reside with him. The above events took place on the 11th; very early on the 12th Futtafaihe, with Connelly, came and pleaded for five of the Missionaries to be located with him; but as they had resolved not to separate for a time, he was refused his request, and expressed deep disappointment. At nine o'clock, Ambler came off with Feenou Toogahowe, who had already agreed with the former to take all the brethren under his protection, as also to give them a house and the land attached to it. This was a great point gained. Toogahowe was the most powerful chief in the island; he was also the greatest warrior, and not only a terror to the chiefs of Tongataboo, but likewise to those of the adjacent isles. It was thought, that on the death of Moomooe, he would be formally chosen in his place of great chief, or king, of the island. He was a stout man of about forty, of a sullen, morose countenance; he spoke little, but when angry, bellowed forth his fearful words with a voice harsh as thunder, and like the roaring of a lion. The natives quaked at his terrible presence. It was deemed wise not to trust to Ambler's previous and private rehearsal to him of the Missionaries' object, the Captain, therefore, recited afresh in their hearing, every particular of the conditions. Toogahowe seemed to understand the greater part, and haughtily answered, that, if they chose to land, they might live there as they pleased, that no one should hurt them, and that in the afternoon he would send a double canoe to take their goods ashore.

This negotiation was hardly finished, when Ambler informed the Captain of an intended massacre of the whole of the Duff's company. According to this unprincipled fellow, the savages were to attack the ship, and that, at that moment, every man in eight large double canoes, and in many hundreds of single ones, was joined in the league of destruction. They

suspected, that the tale was a forgery of Ambler's own base heart and busy brain; but they deemed it wise to treat the matter as a truth. The small arms accordingly were laid in readiness for use, the great guns cast loose and loaded with grape shot, and every man at his quarters. Immediately, all the natives were turned out of the ship, except Toogahowe and his attendants; and all the canoes were likewise ordered off from alongside. These mandates were speedily obeyed by the savages, who perceived an unusual stir upon the decks, and the guns levelled at them. They drew up ahead and astern of the ship, where they lay a considerable time, seemingly in expectation of a salute to divert them, as former navigators might have done. Disappointed in this, they would have come alongside again, but only a few single canoes were allowed to approach. The double ones were never permitted to come near again, nor to make fast a rope to the ship. The truth of the representation was never ascertained; it was prudent, however, to disperse the canoes, which could not have contained fewer than three thousand men, each armed with a club or spear—a body which might have destroyed the small number of undisciplined men connected with the Duff, in a moment!

In the afternoon the canoe promised by Toogahowe, came for the things of the Missionaries, and, on its being loaded, Bowell, Buchanan, Gaulton, Harper, Shelly, Veeson, and Wilkinson, accompanied by Ambler, embarked in it, and proceeded westward to a place called Aheefo. Kelso, Cooper, and Nobbs, remained on board to prepare the rest of the articles. On the afternoon of the following day, the 13th, the canoe, with three Missionaries on board, returned. They reported that their persons had not been molested, and, that although it had been dark, not a single article of property had been lost. One o'clock in the morning had nearly struck, before all was housed and safe, and they were left to themselves. They then went to rest, resigning person and property into the hands of God, and never slept sounder in their lives. The canoe was immediately loaded and again despatched, leaving on board sufficient for another lading; and Buchanan, with Nobbs, remained on board to collect

and prepare the necessary goods. On reaching the shore, the cargo was surrounded by a hundred natives, who alarmed the brethren Harper and Kelso, but Mytyle, a great chief, ordered the chests into a house adjacent, and dispersed the people under a threat of utter destruction to any one who, during the darkness of the night, should attempt to steal. Thus shielded, the brethren lay down on mats in perfect security, till awoke by the somewhat annoying generosity of their barbarous benefactor, Mytyle, at one o'clock in the morning, to share an entertainment which he had provided of fish, hot yams, cocoa-nuts, and other articles.

Towards evening the weather became dark and unsettled, and about midnight a canoe with four men was observed lying ahead of the ship, clearly with a design to cut the cable, that she might drive upon the coral rocks astern, where she must inevitably have been destroyed. It was determined to send them off without firing a shot, and for that purpose Robson, the gunner, and his watch-mates, laid a quantity of cocoa-nut shells upon the forecastle. Presently, under cover of a squall, the marauders dropt under the bow. Now was the time to chastise them; therefore, without noise, lest some of them should get into the water unseen, and injure the cable, a volley of the hard husks was poured upon their heads. Confounded by this unlooked-for reception, they all jumped into the water and swam, some one way, some another, while the deserted canoe drifted astern. To augment their terror, a musket was fired over their heads, and the jolly-boat lowered to pick up the canoe, which afterwards enabled Futtafaihe, the constant friend of the Missionaries, to identify the offenders.

On the afternoon of the 14th, the canoe came alongside for the last load of goods. Cooper and Shelly were in her, and reported that on shore all was well, and the natives full of kindness. The Captain then took an affectionate leave of the brethren, humanely promising to wait till the following day, if possible, and for that purpose he made short tacks without the reefs during most of the night. But a heavy gale, at an early hour, compelled him to push off from the perilous shore, whence the mountainous billows soon

tossed the vessel along the ocean till the brethren lost sight of her. Speaking of that solemn moment, Veeson says:— "We watched her labouring amid the waves, till she sank in the horizon from our view. A sigh of sadness then arose, and some tears of regret fell from our eyes, whilst we looked around upon this island, far distant from the regions of civilized life, as the scene where we should pass and end our days. 'This,' we said to each other, 'is the ground where our bodies will moulder to dust; this we must now look upon as our country and our grave.' But there were ten of us in company, all social and friendly, all attached to each other, all of similar sentiment, all at this time united in love and zeal for our divine Master, and all glowing with an earnest desire to convey the blessing of his inestimable and glorious gospel, to the friendly but heathen inhabitants around us."

CHAPTER IX.

TRANSACTIONS AT TONGATABOO, DURING THE ABSENCE OF THE DUFF.

The Cuckoo Clock—The dying King—Human Sacrifice—Death of the King—The Funeral—Dreadful Scenes at the Tomb—Election of a King—Danger of the Missionaries—Their Dispersion.

Considering it possible that the Captain might put about and lie-to, in order to ascertain the state of matters before fairly setting out for the Marquesas, several of the brethren went, on Sunday, the 16th, to look for the ship, but in vain; on the 17th, also, two others went on the same errand, but still without success. They, therefore, now settled down, and in good earnest set about their Master's business. Among various domestic arrangements, the erection of a cuckoo-clock was, in its consequences, not the least. This article was viewed with great surprise, before it was put in motion. Presently, when set a going, out came the cuckoo, and sounded, as the pendulum moved, "cuckoo, cuckoo." The natives were filled with amazement, and for a time could not take their eyes off the marvellous object; till at last they gazed at each other with dumb surprise, and withdrew, without noticing or speaking to the Missionaries, in utter astonishment. The news of this wonderful phenomenon soon overspread the island. It was reported that the English had got *Accoulair*—wood that speaks. Every one who saw it went and told his neighbour, *Nago mamattai accoulair*—I saw the wood speak! It was considered to be a spirit, on which account the natives would not touch it, and supposed, if they stole any thing, the "bird-spirit" would detect them—a notion not without its use. The clock was the means of collecting multitudes from all quarters,

from morning to evening. The visitors at length so multiplied, that it became necessary to refuse admittance to many of them. The mystic power of the "bird-spirit," however, was soon brought low. Among the numerous visitors was Futtafaihe, who was not alarmed but delighted with the clock, and strongly desired to have one for himself. Having several, and being eager to gratify the second chief of the island, they rather incautiously met his wishes. The chief carried it home with great joy; and, impelled by an insatiable curiosity to discover the secrets of the mysterious structure, he successfully attempted to take it to pieces; but was unable to put it together again. The Missionaries were summoned to perform this great feat. They came—they tried—but, ignorant of clock-work, they were baffled. Their failure excited loud laughter among the savage bystanders, and exposed them to much ridicule.

It has already appeared that Moomooe the king was in a very precarious state of health. He became rapidly worse. On Sunday, the 23rd, the admiral of the fleet set sail for Fiji, in a large double canoe, to fetch a spirit—an idol—to cure the aged sufferer, who then lay at the point of death. This voyage, from which relief was expected, required two months; but it was clear to the Missionaries that he could not survive many days. On the 26th, two of them visited him, and made him a present, with which he was much pleased; and seeing that it comprised a piece of soap, he desired to be shaved, and was much gratified by the operation. Towards the evening he became hourly worse, was incapable of turning himself, and appeared on the very eve of dissolution. He, nevertheless, desired the Missionaries to send him a cuckoo-clock, and a few of their number to sing psalms for him. The brethren present, Kelso and Buchanan, were much shocked by the behaviour of Toogahowe, who, two days previously, had ordered his own younger brother to be strangled that his father might recover. He had buried the victim within a few yards of the house where the Missionaries resided, and he now came to mourn over him, which he did by sitting on the grave, with his elbows upon his knees, and covering his face with his hands, where

he remained a long time in silence, and then departed very thoughtful. The murdered youth lived at some distance from Noogollifva, where his royal father lay sick, and by whose order he was sent for, under pretence of having his little fingers cut off, in order to appease the anger of the Odooa, that the sick person might recover, but, in fact, that he might be strangled. Upon the arrival of Colelallo—for such was the young man's name—he was cordially saluted by his elder brother Toogahowe, and soon after went to see his father. In the act of discharging this filial duty, he was seized by the attendants with a view to instant strangulation. Suspecting their intention, he said, if they would use gentler means, he would submit to his father's will; but they persevered in their violence, till, by the efforts of desperation, he beat them off. Three Fiji men were then called; and these, aided by the young man's own sister, accomplished his destruction. This murderous measure was founded in the presumption that the strength of the strangled victim would be transferred to the sick, who would thereby recover!

About four o'clock in the morning of the 29th, Moomooe exchanged worlds. Now commenced a scene of the most shocking description. The people who passed from Noogollifva, with their faces bruised, and blood running down their cheeks, were numerous; instead of cloth, they wore matting round them, and a twig of the chesnut-tree about their necks, as their mourning dress. About one o'clock Toogahowe arrived; and soon after Ambler, accompanied by brother Bowell, went to see him, when they found him giving orders to several chiefs who sat around him, concerning the enormous supply of provisions to be procured for consumption at the funeral. About three o'clock the body of the deceased king was carried past the house of the Missionaries, at a small distance from the beach; it was laid on a kind of bier made of the boughs of trees, and supported by about twenty men. The relatives of the deceased preceded the corpse in the mourning dresses already described; some of them had cut their heads with shark's teeth, and the blood was flowing in streams down their faces. A mul-

titude of people of both sexes followed the body. A female chief, called Fefene Duatonga, was carried on a kind of frame made of two long bamboos, between which she sat, on a piece of matting, and was borne by four men. Near her Futtafaihe walked; and next to them two women, devoted to strangulation at the funeral—both wives of the deceased. One of these miserable victims wept as she walked along; but the other was a personification of cold indifference. The body was deposited for the present near to the fiatooka, in a house carried thither for the purpose, which was hung with black cloth. The fiatooka was situated on a spot of ground comprising about four acres. A mount rose with a gentle slope about seven feet, and was about one hundred and twenty yards in circumference at the base; upon the top stood a house neatly made, about thirty feet long and fifteen wide, with the roof thatched, and the sides and ends left open. In the middle of this house was the grave, the sides, ends, and bottoms of which were of coral stone, with a cover of the same. The floor of the house consisted of small stones. Here the bodies of the rulers had been laid for ages past, in a solemn range of rude dignity. The etoa and other trees grew around the fiatooka, and served as British cypress.

To the left of the tomb, and without the enclosure, sat about four hundred people, chiefly men for whom cava was brewing. Opposite to these were placed five large roasted hogs, twenty baskets of roasted yams, and about a hundred pieces of mai, or mahie—a sour paste. A few paces from the provisions sat seven or eight men, who were tabooed, and exempt from cutting themselves. One of these was a sort of master of the ceremonies, who gave orders concerning the disposal of the hogs, yams, and cava; all that were privileged to drink of the latter were mentioned by name, by a herald appointed to that office by Fefene Duatonga, manager of the funeral.

During April the 30th and May the 1st, immense preparations were made for the funeral. People flocked from all quarters with hogs, fruit, cloth, spears, and clubs. The interment took place on the 22nd, when the horrors of pagan-

ism were revealed in their full proportions and truly infernal character. At the commencement of the diabolical pageant, about four thousand persons sat around the place where the fiatooka stood. Soon after the arrival of the brethren, they heard at a little distance great shouting, and loud blowing of conch shells, when speedily about a hundred men appeared, armed with clubs and spears. These infatuated mortals, rushing into the area, began to cut and mangle themselves in a most barbarous manner: many struck their heads with their clubs in a manner so violent that the blows were heard thirty or forty yards off; and this suicidal operation was repeated till the blood ran down in torrents. Others, who carried spears, thrust them with savage ferocity through their thighs, arms, and cheeks, all the while most piteously calling out to the deceased king. A native of Feejee, who had been one of the sovereign's servants, stept forth to diversify the dreadful scene. This savage mourner appeared quite frantic; he entered the area with fire in his hand, and having previously oiled his hair, and having applied the torch, he ran about with his head enveloped in flames. When wearied with this manner of torment, they sat down, pummelled their faces with their fists, and then retired.

A second party came forward, and went through the same terrible course of self-inflicted torment. After them came a third, shouting and blowing the shells; four of the foremost held stones in their hands, with which they knocked out their teeth; those who sounded the shells cut their heads with them in a manner shocking to behold. One who had a spear, thrust it through his arm just above the elbow, and, with the deadly weapon thus balanced, ran wildly about the area. Another—a principal chief—acted as if quite bereft of his senses; he ran to every corner of the area, and at each station smashed his head with a club till the blood flowed in streams down his shoulders.

This murderous exhibition went on till about two o'clock in the afternoon, when low but expressive sounds of the deepest sorrow and lamentation were heard at a distance. These moanings proceeded from a body of about one hun-

dred and forty females, marching in single file, bearing each a basket of sand. Eighty men followed in the same manner, each having two baskets of coral sand; as they marched, they sung words importing "this is a blessing to the dead," and were answered in responses by the women. Another company of women brought a large quantity of cloth, and answered in their turn to the above responses. Thus these three bands walked towards the tomb, covering the path between the place where the corpse lay and the grave with fine mats and cloth; after which seven men sounded conch shells, while others sung in a doleful strain, expressive of the most pungent grief. The corpse was then conveyed to the grave upon a large bale of black cloth, with which, and with fine mats, they covered it. The bearers as they went stooped low, and carried the bale in their hands. While these solemn services were performing, blood again began to flow: a company of men and women rushed into the area, where they cut and mangled themselves in a frightful manner. After them, another file of females, nineteen in number, brought each a bag of their most valuable articles, and twenty-one more had each a fine mat in their hands, all of which they deposited in the tomb. This they denominated "a present for the dead." Immediately after came a present from Toogahowe, consisting of thirty-five bales of cloth, each bale borne on a frame by four men. After the gifts were disposed of, another party of mourners entered the area, sixteen of whom had recently cut their little fingers off. To these succeeded yet another party, with clubs and spears, who beat themselves as before described, and disfigured their faces by smiting them with cocoa-nut husks fixed on the knuckles of both hands. On this dreadful day respect for the deceased was measured by blood and by torture! Those who had held offices under the late king, or been related to him, set no bounds to their self-torment. Some of them thrust two, three, and even four spears into their arms, and so danced round the area;—some broke the end of the spears in their flesh! These barbarous atrocities reached a climax in the murder of the two wives of the late king!

The diabolical tragedy at length drew towards a close for that day. The grave was covered with a hewn stone about eight feet long, four broad, and one thick. This stone had been suspended by two large ropes, which went round two strong piles driven into the ground at the end of the house, in which the corpse had been laid previous to interment, and thence led to the area, where about two hundred men held by them. Whilst these men slackened the ropes and slowly lowered the stone, women and children wept aloud, or sung words signifying "My father! my father! the best of chiefs," and so forth. More cloth was then brought to be put into the tomb; and another party entered, and, as before, inflicted tortures on their naked bodies. A prolonged silence succeeded to these appalling paroxysms of grief; and when they had pulled the rope clear off the stone, which covered the grave, those on the mount gave a great shout, which was answered by a general tearing of the leaves from the necks of all present, after which the maddened multitude dispersed.

These deeds of darkness, the work of blood and carnage, were renewed on the morrow. The space around the tomb was an Aceldama—a palæstra for savage gladiators. Thousands, before the days of their mourning were ended, engaged in murderous conflict. Night after night, for weeks, the horrid blast of the conch shell, roused and summoned these benighted islanders to the Satanic orgies of this infernal mourning. The piercing shrieks, the dread clashing of arms, and the rushing and violence of the multitude, resounded through the district, and around the residence of the Missionaries, rendering it a scene of continual horror and alarm.

On May the 14th, when the revels had at length somewhat abated, the whole body of the chiefs assembled for the purpose of electing a supreme governor in the place of Moomooe. All eyes were directed towards Toogahowe, the patron of the Missionaries, who was a man of fearful prowess in the battle field, who had inspired awe among the adjacent islands, as well as, by force of arms, placed his late father, Moomooe, in the seat of sovereignty. He had, moreover, ever after strengthened his family interests among the chiefs, by

making them his companions and friends. Thus met in public assembly, one of the chiefs stepped forth from the circle and said, "Do bou Toogahowe Dugonagaboola fy talliaba gee ma too lou,"—Toogahowe shall be the chief, and we will do as we please; upon which he was unanimously elected king.

The elevation of Toogahowe, at that time, was an important and seasonable event to the Missionaries, for they were quickly involved in danger and difficulty by their own countrymen,—Ambler, Connelly, and Morgan,—who soon became mortal enemies to the brethren, whose example they found to be a reproach, and whose presence imposed an intolerable restraint on their depravity. These miscreants spent all their time in idleness and profligacy: one of them had two wives, a second three, and a third four. On the 14th of June, Ambler and Morgan came to their house and began to abuse them; Morgan even kicked Mr. Kelso, and afterwards struck him with a club. The rest seized, overpowered, and drove them off the ground. The ruffians departed uttering awful threats and imprecations; vowing to arouse the natives against them, and to murder every man among them before the morning. The conduct and menaces of these wicked men alarmed them; for this reason, therefore, and because of the small progress they made in acquiring the language by living together, apart from the natives, they resolved to separate, and take up their abode in little parties, with different chiefs. The plan received, not without reluctance, the approval of Toogahowe, now Dugonagaboola, and king of the island. The brethren took leave of each other, and went to their respective protector chiefs. Two went to live with Vahargee, at Ardeo; one with Moolee, in the district of Ahogge; another with Mulkaamair; two with Duatonga, at Mooa; and three remained at Aheefo.

On July the 3d, the journal exhibits the following important entry, which illustrates all the leading features of their position:—"We now begin to see something of the designs of Providence in casting us, at our first landing, into the midst of such confusion and disorder, as then filled us with apprehension for our safety; He, at that time, not only made

daily displays of his almighty power and gracious care, in protecting us from every threatening danger; but, by collecting a vast concourse of strangers from every quarter, both of Tongataboo, and the adjacent islands, and giving us favour in their sight, seems already to have opened a door for us to every part of this extensive group. We have received pressing invitations to several of the neighbouring islands, which nothing but a want of the language has prevented us from accepting. But we hope by a diligent application to remove that obstacle, so that we now look for opportunities of promoting the glorious design in which we are engaged, which at first we little expected."

Ambler, Connelly, and Morgan continued their machinations against the Missionaries. The king, however, saw fully through them; and, on one occasion, he hissed Ambler from his presence, and threatened him with death if he ever showed his face again. On the 7th of August, at Aheefo, it was resolved that the anniversary of their embarkation, then just at hand, should be observed as a day of public thanksgiving. On the memorable 10th of August, accordingly, we find the following record of facts and feelings in the public journal:—

"The anniversary of our embarkation completes the first year of our mission, and the most remarkable of our lives, wherein the Lord has, in answer to the many prayers of his people, and, we hope, for the accomplishment of his gracious purposes, given us numberless manifestations of his almighty power, his infinite wisdom, and unchangeable love. While upon the mighty waters we were the peculiar objects of his providential care and bounty. His presence has been with us in passing through the fire and water; and though they often seemed to unite their rage and force against us, and to threaten our destruction every moment, they were not permitted to do us any harm. Some of us, when all help seemed to fail, were raised from the opening grave, to praise him in our little assembly; and we were all brought in safety to our desired haven, where his hand has been most wonderfully 'stretched out still,' in opening a door of access for us by the most unexpected and improbable means; in giving

us favour in the sight of the heathen; in preserving us, though defenceless and exposed, from their rage and madness; and in making all things subservient to his own most gracious designs; in frustrating the machinations, and carrying headlong the counsels of our more heathenish countrymen, making them produce the very opposite effects from what they intended. Lo! these are a part of his ways; but if we would tell of all the wonderful things he has done for us, they are more than we are able to express. 'O that men would, therefore, praise the Lord for his goodness, and declare his wonderful works to the children of men!'"

Nothing material occurred after this, till Saturday the 19th, a day rendered memorable by the return of the ship, which we must now follow on her way to the Marquesas.

CHAPTER X.

VOYAGE TO THE MARQUESAS AND SETTLEMENT OF A MISSIONARY.

Arrival at Christina—Visit of Honoo—Marquesan House—Settlement of the Missionaries—Great House—Royal Sepulchre—An inquisitive Chief—Interesting Experiment—Filial Affection—Distress of Harris—Noble Character of Crook.

At four in the morning of the 15th, the Duff weighed, and proceeded on her voyage to the Marquesas. They were exposed to considerable danger before they fully cleared the rocks connected with the harbour of Tongataboo; but for five days, when they got to the open sea, they enjoyed favourable winds, which shortened their distance about eight hundred miles. On their way they discovered Crescent Island, Gambier's Islands, Turk's Cap, Friar's Hood, and Serle's Islands. On June the 4th, they saw Santa Christina; and on the 5th, they reached Resolution Bay, and safely anchored about seven o'clock in the evening. Though it was now dark, two females swam off, not doubting of a favourable reception in the Duff; but finding they could not be admitted, they continued swimming about the ship for nearly half an hour plaintively calling out, "waheine! waheine!"—woman! or, we are women! after which they returned to the shore. On the morning of the 6th, seven more came off, and for three hours swam about the ship, crying, waheine! Early on that day, Tenae, a chief, eldest son of Honoo, the reigning prince in Captain Cook's time, came on board, and exchanged presents with the Captain. When the subject of the settlement of two Missionaries among them was brought forward, he seemed highly delighted with the proposal, and frankly declared, that they should have a house, and a share of all that he had. The

first officer, Harris and Crook,—the intended Missionaries,—Peter the Swede, and Tom, a boy who had accompanied the Captain from Otaheite, went straightway on shore, where Tenae received and conducted them to one of his best houses, intimating that it was the brethren's, and they might come and occupy it as soon as they pleased. To convey an idea of this and all their best houses, it is only necessary to imagine an English cottage with a high peaked roof; let it be cut lengthwise down the middle, and you have an image of two Marquesan houses. The house given by Tenae was twenty-five feet long, six wide, ten feet high in the back part, and four in the front; at the corners four stout stakes were driven into the earth, on which were laid horizontal pieces, and from these last to the ground bamboos were neatly ranged in perpendicular order, at a distance of about half an inch from each other, and without them were hung long blinds made with leaves of trees. The inside furniture of this house consisted of a large floor-mat stretching from end to end, several large calabashes, some fishing tackle, and a few spears.

On returning to the ship, Crook and Harris were met in the cabin by the Captain, who desired to know their views respecting settlement. Crook observed, that he was encouraged by the reception with which they had met; that the chief had behaved exceedingly well, and that he approved of the house, place, and people. Harris spoke with hesitation; his opinions were contrary to Crook's; he disapproved of everything; he appeared to have become paralyzed by fear,—his firmness was shaken, and his ardour quenched. However, he agreed to make an experiment; and the Captain intimated, that, if afterwards, they thought it unsafe to stay, and could show satisfactory reasons, they might return on board, as he intended no compulsion.

On the afternoon of the 7th, Crook, with his characteristic decision and manhood, landed with his bed and a few clothes. Harris, who was, like Homer's hero, "at heart a deer," declined to accompany him that night, and affected to be busy on board, packing up the luggage in small parcels for the convenience of carrying it up the valley. The

first officer and Otaheitean Tom accompanied Crook. Tenae himself met them on the beach with all respect and kindness; they proceeded together up the valley, followed by a vast concourse of people, some of whom carried the baggage to the house assigned to the brethren, from which it was soon after removed, along with them, to a larger house, which indicated Tenae's growing esteem for his visitors. This edifice might be at once considered sacred and royal. It stood on a square platform raised with stones, having a wall about six feet high on the lowest side; in the inside was a kind of escutcheon in memory of Honoo, the chief's father: it was very curiously wrought with small reeds, laid upright, oblique, and horizontal, and about eight feet in height, forming a side of a pyramid. There was a drum at each end, made like those in use at Otaheite, but much longer. Nearly adjoining, and upon the same platform, was another house, built on a small eminence, leaving a space in front, where were placed two rude figures of men carved in wood, nearly the size of life; behind these, against the side of the house, were three other escutcheons, wrought in the same manner as the one above mentioned: that in the middle, which was the highest, had the figure of a bird upon the top, and the reeds which composed the whole being stained with various colours, produced an effect full of beauty and solemnity. This tabernacle of death had no door nor any sort of aperture; but Mr. Wilson, the first mate, excited by curiosity, opened a hole in the side of it, to see its contents, and beheld a coffin fixed on stakes, about a yard from the ground. At this moment Tenae the chief came up; and Mr. Wilson, seeing he was not angry, again opened the hole and pointed to the coffin: he instantly and repeatedly cried, Honoo! by which the officer knew that it contained the ashes of his father. It seemed to gratify the feelings of the kind barbarian to see that the Englishman noticed the honours paid to the memory of his savage sire. The coffin was cylindrical, and bound about with various coloured plaiting made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut. This sepulchre, Crook's house, and everything within the platform, was taboo or sacred, and its approach interdicted to women.

On the morning of the next day, which was the 8th, Crook, Tenae, and his brother came on board, when Tenae received from the Captain a present of an ornamented crown, with which he was greatly delighted, a piece of cloth, a hammer, and some gimlets; but the gift that captivated him most was a large conch-shell—an article which they are ever eager to purchase at any price. They use these instruments of sound when traversing the valleys, and as they gain the summit of the hills, they blow them with might and main, listening with the utmost pride and pleasure to the long reverberating echoes. Tenae happening to touch the wire of the cabin bell, he was struck with astonishment at the sound; he rang the bell again and again, and puzzled himself a quarter of an hour to solve the mystery. This gentle savage had a thoughtful cast of countenance, and fully sustained the dignity of the chief and father of a village. The English were moved with pity at the sight of a man, whom culture might have fitted for the highest stations in civilized society, thus awed, and confounded by a rattle.

Some days afterwards the chief and his brothers again came on board, with Otaheitean Tom, who informed the Captain, that the boy Harraway had left them and gone to the other side of the island—an act which little Tom strongly reprobated. The Captain, to try Tom's own regard for his native isle, the beauties of which the boy had been ceaselessly celebrating since his arrival at the Marquesas, ordered him to put his things into the canoe and go on shore, also, on the alleged ground, that he had been privy to Harraway's escape. The guileless boy protested his innocence; with tears in his eyes he collected his trifles and put them into the canoe; he went round the ship and shook hands with all the crew; and then put off sobbing and crying with a heart ready to break. When he was gone a short way, the Captain called the little islander back, but it was some time before he became composed and cheerful.

On the 13th, at the hour of dinner, one of the natives stole a pump bolt, and was making off with his prize, when Mr. Godsell detected him, and, aided by the gunner, prevented his escape. The rest all jumped overboard, and

hastened to the shore. The thief was lashed up by way of punishment, and a musket shown him, by which he expected to be instantly shot. A man of some consequence, who had come in the same canoe, brought the chief's second brother, with two pigs and a plantain leaf, to intercede for the offender, who was his own father; but the mediation was rejected. Under these circumstances nothing was expected but death; the savage son accordingly kissed and embraced his culprit father; and they mutually took a last farewell. Having read the natives a solemn lesson, that the anguish might not be unnecessarily prolonged, the musket was discharged in the air, and the malefactor liberated. At first he entertained the full confidence that he was shot; but when still alive and presented to his son, both of them appeared so overwhelmed with joy that they could hardly trust their own eyes. Gratitude, combined with consternation, utterly deprived them both of the power of speech. After receiving a solemn caution against such practices in future, they were sent on shore with the pigs, which were refused, that the dignity of justice might not be tarnished by even the semblance of selfishness.

The 14th of the month brings Mr. Harris once more forward on the historic page, as a warning to young men, to count the cost before they embark on the high and honourable work of missions. He had hitherto kept to the vessel, but as decision had now become necessary, he was on this day set on shore with all his things. After an experiment of a few days, on the 20th, he and Crook came on board, and conferred with the Captain respecting their stay. Harris complained of the poverty of the place, expressed his deep disgust with the food and other matters; but Crook declared his determination to remain, even though Harris should leave him alone. The result was, that both went on shore again, and Harris agreed to make a further trial before the Duff's departure. That trial, however, soon terminated. On the morning of the 24th, a fisherman swam off at break of day, and informed the Captain that Mr. Harris had been on the beach all night with his chest, and had been robbed of most of his property. The report at

first obtained little credit; but on despatching the jolly-boat, it was found to be true. He had come down in the dusk of the evening, but finding none of the boats, and the ship beyond the reach of hail, he spent a melancholy night on the margin of the lone shore, sitting on his chest, and ruminating on the misery of his condition. About four in the morning some of the natives drove him from his chest, that they might possess his clothing; and poor Harris, in terror of his life, fled to the adjacent hills. Mr. Falconer, the third mate, who went to bring him off, found him in a most pitiable plight, and almost out of his senses. To increase the distress of his dismal condition, the surf was so high that the boat could not land; and it became necessary to haul off the chest and its owner by means of a rope.

The reasons which he gave for his abrupt departure serve to illustrate some of the features of society as it then existed at the Marquesas. Tenae wanted to treat his guests with an excursion to another valley; Crook cordially assented, but Harris sullenly refused. The benevolent chief, seeing this, took no offence; but still desirous to oblige him, and not considering any favour too great, left him his wife to be treated as if she had been his own, till he returned. Harris stated that he did not want her; but the poor benighted woman, who fully entered into the views of her savage lord, looked up to Harris as her husband. Finding, however, that he treated her with what she deemed total neglect, she acquainted some of the other females with her suspicions of his sex. Talk and conduct of a very annoying description was the consequence; and Harris determined to leave a place the inhabitants of which were so abandoned. Thus Crook was left alone. This noble-minded youth was endowed with considerable genius, and inspired with the true spirit of Missions. He was only twenty-two years of age; but his courage and fortitude were those of a veteran soldier of Christ Jesus. His deportment on this trying occasion excited the admiration of the people of the Duff, who anticipated great results from the labours of a man so admirably adapted to the sphere assigned him. On the evening of the 26th, he came on board with the chief to take leave, as the

ship was to sail next morning; accordingly, after several articles were put in the canoe, all on board affectionately bade him farewell, and parted. His manly behaviour at that awful moment did him great credit; the tears glistened in his eyes, but none fell; nor did he betray the least sign of fear or reluctance to enter upon his work alone.

CHAPTER XI.

RETURN OF THE DUFF TO OTAHEITE, AND TRANSACTIONS DURING HER STAY.

Return to Otaheite—Distribution of Property—Sacrifice of a Man—Escape of a Seaman—The Search—Character of Manne Manne—Departure of the Duff—Deportment of the Natives.

At four o'clock on the morning of the 27th, the Duff weighed, and shaped her course for Trevenen's and Sir Henry Martin's islands; and running down the south side of Craggy Point, took her departure for Otaheite. At seven o'clock, on the morning of July 6th, they saw its high land; and by noon they came to anchor in Matavai bay. The sight of the vessel filled the natives with joy, as well as the brethren, who came speedily on board and reported favourably on every subject, stating that they had constantly observed the same respectful behaviour towards them as at first, and had never failed a day to supply them abundantly with all kinds of provisions. Respecting the object of the Mission, little more could be said than that appearances were encouraging.

The joy of meeting was great, but the stay of the ship being no longer necessary, a speedy departure was announced, and accordingly preparations were hastened. One chief business was the discharge of the remaining cargo, and those treasures of iron and steel which were now to be finally divided between the Missionaries of Otaheite and Tongataboo. On the 6th of July, accordingly, Mr. Harris being landed with his property, in the evening the Captain went on shore, and held a meeting with the Missionaries, at which the public Journal was read, and various matters discussed concerning the proceedings of the Society. At that meeting also it was agreed, that the articles in the ship should be thus divided: two brethren were chosen to act in behalf of

the party at Tongataboo, and two for themselves, under the inspection of the Captain. On the following day the work of division by the four brethren began, the Captain superintending, and Mr. Jefferson acting as secretary, to record the articles which each party received. During the same day, an invitation was sent to the wives of the Missionaries, to dine and spend the day on board. The natives also crowded the vessel, few coming empty handed; many of them were in the English dresses which had been given them by the brethren, and several of them spoke many phrases of broken English—such as "Welcome again." "Glad to see you, Captain Wilson."

While the ordinary business was proceeding, an event occurred once more to shock the feelings of the brethren. The young king arrived at Matavai; but a report of his having sacrificed a man, having reached the ears of the Missionaries, they expressed their disapprobation of the horrid deed—an expression which so terrified him that he was setting out with all speed for Papara, when the Captain landed and stopped him, as he and the young queen ran along the beach. The Captain implored him to desist from such cruelty, promising to send him a canoe which he had on purpose brought him from Tongataboo. This soothed and pleased the youth, and he took up his abode at Matavai. Had he fled in fear, the consequences might have been serious to the ship, for he had only to lay the *rahooe* on the districts, to cut off all their supplies—a power which had sometimes been severely felt by visitors.

Little occurred to diversify the daily round of ship business, and the giving and receiving of presents between the Captain and the natives, till July 27, when William Tucker, a seaman, made his escape. The officers of the Duff had been apprized of his intention to stay on the island; they knew that most of his clothes were on shore: and had thoughts of securing him when on the eve of departure, believing that he would not make off till near the last day. Finding him gone, the first and third mates instantly manned the boat, in pursuit of the worthless fugitive. They, with the assistance of the Missionaries, and the old chief

Piteah, searched every house in the district, but without success. The two Swedes, Peter and Andrew, having been absent all the evening, incurred suspicion relative to the affair; for just as the officers returned to the missionary house, they came in quite wet, pretending to have been a-fishing, an employment on which they never went at night. In addition to this circumstance, their looks condemned them. The officers then went to the huts of Otoo and Iddeah, and desired them to send men in search of the runaway.

On the morning of the following day, Andrew the Swede, coming on board, was immediately put in confinement, since it appeared evident that he had enticed Tucker from the ship, and was endeavouring to form a party which might prove dangerous to the Missionaries. The Captain, therefore, resolved to take him off the island. Peter shortly after came on board, and, turning king's evidence, stated that a native named Matemoo had concealed Tucker in a thicket of Matavai. Iddeah, being on board, immediately landed, and sent off a band of her son Otoo's men to search the thicket, assisted by a number of Missionaries, the first mate, and the gunner. The search ended in disappointment. A report having spread that he had taken the road to Oparre, Smith, Main, and Clode armed themselves, and set off in pursuit of him, as the Captain determined at all hazards to have him, that mischief to the Missionaries might be prevented, and an effectual check be given to desertions. On the following day they returned, fatigued and disappointed.

On the 30th, however, about ten at night, a native paddled off, calling out as he approached the ship, "All's well." His business clearly was to communicate something respecting Tucker; but he was so stupified with cava that he could not articulate a word. The matter, however, was soon explained by the arrival of another canoe, bringing three Missionaries, Iddeah, two of Otoo's servants, and Tucker, who was bound, and heartily cursing Otoo for his treachery. It appeared that Otoo had been privy to the concealment, and had daily supplied Tucker with food; but the Captain having dropped an expression in the hearing of Iddeah,

that if the fugitive was not found he would take Otoo on board, the threat struck such terror into him, that he sent for Tucker, as if to confer with him, and contrived to have some of the Missionaries near the beach to seize him as he passed along. He made a desperate resistance; but, after a great struggle and much blasphemy, they overpowered him and brought him on board, where he was put in confinement till the Duff should leave the island.

On the 1st of August, at noon, the Duff fired a gun, and loosed the fore-topsail, as a signal for sailing; and received Dr. Gillham and all his baggage on board. On the 3rd, they sent ashore an addition of small arms, ammunition, and other means of defence; which made their arms two swivels, eight muskets, one blunderbuss, nine pistols, and nine swords, fifty-six gun-flints, besides those in use, powder, ball, drum and fife—a tolerable supply for a garrison of the servants of the Prince of Peace! The natives crowded the vessel exceedingly on that day, it being the last; and many of them were most importunate to go to England. Manne Manne, their early friend, was present, and giving full development to his peculiar and extraordinary character. He was exceedingly urgent upon his *tayo*, Captain Wilson, to give him sails, ropes, anchors, and other articles for the vessel which he had lately built at Eimeo—articles none of which the Captain had to spare; he therefore refused the demand: but, to show his regard, gave him his own cocked-hat and a variety of presents. The deep and politic priest, however, was far from satisfied; and, with his characteristic boldness and directness, he said, "Several people told me that you wanted Manne Manne, and now I am come you give me nothing." The insatiable savage had made a similar remark once before to the Missionaries: he said, "You give me much parow (talk), and much prayers to the Eatooa, but very few axes, knives, scissors, or cloth." The fact is, that Manne Manne was a second Catiline, at once rapacious and prodigal. Whatever he obtained he immediately distributed among his friends and dependants; so that, of all the property he had received, he had nothing to show but a glazed hat, a pair of breeches, and an old black

coat, which he had fringed with red feathers. The truth is, that the hoary idolater was self-immolated on the altar of political ambition. He excused his extravagance by declaring, that if he "were not to do so, he should never be a king, nor even remain a chief of any consequence." Many of the politicians of Europe are more nearly related than may at first appear to the high priest of Otaheite. Mrs. Henry, Hodges, and Hassell, with several of the Missionaries, came off to take leave of the Captain, officers, and crew. Poor Clode, "unstable in all his ways," wished to go to the Friendly Islands; and, as the brethren left him at liberty to go or stay, and he preferred to go, some unwrought iron and other articles were taken on board for his use; but in the evening he changed his mind again, and resolved to stay.

On the 4th of August, at eight o'clock in the morning, the Duff weighed anchor, and stood out of Matavai bay. Great numbers of natives crowded on board, to take leave of their respective friends, and see what further presents they could procure, for they possessed generosity and selfishness in an almost equal degree. Some, at parting with their *tayos*, or friends, at one end of the ship wept bitterly; but, by only walking the length of the deck, the clouds were gone, and all was sunshine. When taxed with dissimulation in this matter, they observed, amidst laughter, that it was the custom of the inhabitants of Otaheite to weep and cut themselves on such occasions, but that they had omitted the last part of the ceremony because the people of the Duff had told them it was wrong. But as all their passions are short-lived, especially that of grief, their present conduct was not inconsistent with their general character and disposition.

CHAPTER XII.

RETURN OF THE DUFF TO TONGATABOO, AND TRANSACTIONS DURING HER STAY.

Connor's Affection—Loss of Language—Arrival at Tongataboo—The Meeting—Conduct of Futtafaihe—Fefene Duatonga—Tribute to Captain Wilson—Order to seize the Fugitives—The Fate of Ambler and Morgan—Ten Guineas refused for an Axe—Fiatookas of Futtafaihe—Residence of Futtafaihe.

After hoisting in the pinnace, the Duff stood off and on, waiting the packets of letters, which were brought at noon by Cover, Henry, and several others who had not taken leave. After an affectionate farewell, the brethren made for the shore, and the vessel shaped her course for the Society Isles. On the 5th of August, when to leeward of Huaheine, a number of canoes came alongside, in one of which was Connor, an Irishman, one of the Matilda's crew. To their astonishment he had forgotten his native tongue; he recollected only a few words, and if he began a sentence in English, he was obliged to finish it in the language of the islands. He desired the Captain to take him home—a request which was the more readily complied with, since there was much reason, from the conduct of his shipmates at Otaheite, to fear that, in the event of continuance, he would prove a hinderance to the Mission. He then begged the Captain for time to take leave of his wife and child, which was also granted him. When off Owharre harbour, Dr. Gillham and the first mate went on shore with him in the canoe, and on landing, walked towards his house through a crowd of natives, which he cautioned them to beware of, lest for the sake of their clothes they should fall upon them and do them mischief. When Connor made known his intention, some of the women wept, and his wife became deeply affected, though he treated her with much indifference; indeed the

cruel fellow had said he cared not what became of her. But when he took the child, a most beautiful infant eight or nine months old, in his arms, the heart of the hardened sailor melted, the tears glistened in his eyes, and a momentary struggle ensued. He declared that sorrow filled his heart; he was at an utter loss whether to remain in a situation where, by reason of incessant wars, his life was in hourly jeopardy, or to avail himself of his present providential means of deliverance, and leave his darling daughter to the mercy of the savages. Either choice was dreadful, the former to the European—the latter to the parent. For a moment, however, the latter prevailed. He, therefore, embarked in the canoe with Dr. Gillham and Mr. Wilson, and his wife and child accompanied them on board. In the way, they asked her, whether she would part with her child; the mother's heart, true to nature, replied, "No, not for anything!" As several natives and chiefs had collected on board, it was some time before Connor's business could be settled. This circumstance gave him space to reconsider the subject; and, as he never let the child out of his arms, parental affection preponderated, and the veteran mariner told the Captain, that he found it impossible to leave her—a resolution which, for the infant's sake, all were glad to hear. A few useful articles were then presented to him, and he returned to the shore. Connor had not been more than five years among the islands—a fact which proves, that a European may in all points become a heathen, and even forget his own language, although he had spent part of that time with his shipmates. He had also forgotten what time had elapsed since the wreck of his vessel; he supposed it to be eight years, which was three years too many. It ought, however, to be taken into account, that he could never read. Had he possessed only a small share of literature, it is probable that such an event would never have occurred.

The Duff held on her course until August 12th, when she came in sight of Palmerston's Islands. Here they got a large supply of cocoa-nuts for the ship's use, and humanely planted—which was their main business—thirty-four bread-fruit trees, eighteen plantain, and several ovee apple-trees,

of which there were none before on the island. This was done by Captain Wilson in the philanthropic hope that some poor cast-away islanders, or shipwrecked navigators, might thus be preserved from famine in the day of their distress. On the 19th, they came in sight of Eooa, and next day moored the ship in the harbour of Tongataboo. Before they had anchored, George Veeson, happening to be at sea in a canoe, came on board, and told them that the brethren, with the exception of Isaac Nobbs, were all well; and that for the reasons set forth in a former chapter, they had separated into small parties, and were now residing with different chiefs.

On Saturday the 19th, one of the natives brought to Aheefo the reviving intelligence of the ship's return. Three of the brethren, Kelso, Buchanan, and Gaulton, set out in quest of a canoe to carry them to her; but after a fruitless endeavour, Buchanan and Gaulton proceeded by land. After advancing about seven miles along the beach, they were met by a great number of the natives, one of whom presented them with a note despatched by Mr. Bowell, for the information of the brethren at Aheefo. This native had borne several messages on previous occasions, and thus having come to understand the mysterious power of the note to tell facts, he explained the business to his companions. This excited their curiosity to such a degree, that they determined to go along with him and see it delivered, and so to ascertain the truth of the strange relation. When they saw the joy which the note, on being opened, gave to the brethren, they were struck with amazement, and were utterly perplexed on perceiving, that by means of it, they knew as well as themselves, that the ship had arrived and where she lay.

The next day, the 20th, being Sunday, Mr. Buchanan preached on board in the morning from Psalm v. 12; and Mr. Bowell in the afternoon. On the Monday, many of the principal chiefs came on board, and among them Futtafaihe, who, the moment he saw Buchanan, renewed his solicitations for him to go and reside with him, at the same time reminding him of a promise to that effect, given on the first arrival of the Duff. The chief also rehearsed the several proofs of his favour since bestowed; he gave fresh assurances of his

respect and esteem; he promised to render everything as agreeable as possible, and to remove every obstacle that Buchanan could mention. But the wary Missionary declined to give any promise. Futtafaihe, however, being fully acquainted with the recent villany of Connelly, who had resided with this chief ever since he came to the island, and of his profligate associates, Ambler and Morgan, asked Buchanan if he was averse to live with Connelly. Buchanan frankly replied in the affirmative. The chief immediately proposed to bind him hand and foot, and bring him on board. That measure, very proper in itself, was for the present rejected, because it appeared more desirable to Captain Wilson, and all concerned, that these fellows should come on board as they had promised, and depart from the island of their own accord. Buchanan now considered the path plain; brother Gaulton readily consented to become his partner; and the fact was communicated to Futtafaihe, who expressed the utmost satisfaction, and immediately invited them to go on shore, and choose a place for their future residence. On the following day he gave them their choice of a number of beautiful dwellings, of which they selected one about two hundred yards from his own. On the 23d, the Captain received the honour of a visit from Fefene Duatonga, the first woman on the island, who came on board with her principal lady in waiting; their hair was plastered up with a composition which very much resembled the powder and pomatum of a fine-dressed London belle. Her feet were kissed in token of homage by all who approached her; and such were her ideas of her own dignity, that she admitted no fixed husband as a companion but cohabited with those of the chiefs whom she pleased to select, and had several children. A fine boy of about twelve years old attended her on board. Several presents of scissors were made, which highly pleased them; and when they left the ship they jumped overboard, and washed the snow-white decoration from their hair before they paddled on shore with their canoe. Brother Wilkinson brought off a fine bunch of turnips of their first crop, which had been almost wholly destroyed by the rats. They contrived a trap, in which they caught a great

many, which were given to the women at their request, and eaten raw as savoury food. Some cats were sent to the Missionaries, the first ever introduced into the island.

An entry of August 26, in the Journal of the Missionaries, yields the following just and well-merited tribute to the character, abilities, and conduct of Captain Wilson:—

"Our time this week was chiefly employed in dividing, and carrying to our respective places of residence, the part of the cargo which, in the division at Otaheite, had fallen to our share. In it we found such an immense quantity of useful and necessary iron tools of all sorts, as far exceeded our greatest expectation, and filled the natives with astonishment. Our warmest acknowledgments are due, and must fall infinitely short of our obligations, to the divine Author of all our mercies, who hath put it into the hearts of his people to provide, and of his honoured servants, the directors, to bestow on us, so bountiful a supply of everything that could be devised for our comfort, and the furtherance of the work in which we are engaged; but especially for the wonderful manner in which he has prepared, brought forward, and preserved our dear Captain, whom we cannot but esteem as the greatest testimony of the divine favour bestowed on our society. While on the voyage, the prosperity and furtherance of the work seemed to engross his whole attention. To his indulgent care in procuring and allowing us every comfort that could be enjoyed by people in our circumstances, might be imputed that extraordinary degree of health which we enjoyed. His counsel and advice has often guarded us from the intrusion of discord. His conversation was wholly calculated to stimulate our zeal. In our absence he has been mindful of our interests, and has effectually prevented every complaint. The affability and kindness of his conduct among the natives has won him their affections: and indeed, in what we have reason to believe is his principal aim, he has succeeded wonderfully—that is, to adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things. May the Lord enable us to do likewise, and fill our hearts with gratitude to himself, and to all the instruments of his unbounded goodness! May we walk as children of so many mercies;

and, knowing that we are but stewards of those gifts of his providence for which we must ere long give an account, may we be led to devote ourselves, and all our enjoyments, to his praise and glory, that we may give in our account with joy in the day of our Lord Jesus!"

Ambler, Morgan, and Connelly not coming to depart with the Duff, as expected, Captain Wilson gave orders to seize them, because they had not only obstructed the Missionaries in their work, but attempted their destruction. Connelly was speedily taken, and brought prisoner on board the Duff; but Ambler and Morgan made their escape and eluded search. They endeavoured to arouse the alarms of the islanders by asserting that the object of the Missionaries was to kill the natives and take possession of the island. Some of the chiefs became suspicious, and, in an assembly, gave it as their opinion that the Missionaries should not be allowed to remain; but Mulkamair nobly replied,—"If the men of the sky shall discover, by any attempts at violence, or secret whisperings, that they mean to take our land, and to kill ourselves, we ought all to strike hands, and to rout them out from among us; but they have brought great riches; they have given them to us freely; we reap the good fruits of their living among us; their articles are of great use to us; they behave themselves well; and what can we wish for more?" This satisfied all, and the Missionaries daily rose in the estimation of the natives.

The wicked mariners escaped capture, but the ship had not long sailed till their influence was much impaired. Ambler was put to death for calumniating one of the chiefs, and for his attempts to excite disturbances; and Morgan was slain in one of the Vavou islands, for his brutal conduct towards the daughter of a chief.

During the twenty days' stay of the vessel, she was daily visited by the natives, who brought them an ample store of fine yams, and as many hogs as they would accept. They were, however, equally ready to take as to give, and various things were stolen; and among other things the cook's axe. It may serve to illustrate a point in political economy, in relation to iron, to state, that the Captain gave the cook

ten new guineas to purchase another axe from the natives; but his endeavours to make such a purchase were all in vain. The natives only laughed at him for his offer. They had still to learn the value of the precious metals. During this second visit to Tongataboo, the anxious and faithful Captain was never once on shore. The day previous to sailing, the first mate went to Mooa in the pinnace, accompanied by his brother James Wilson, Falconer the third mate, and Robson the gunner. They visited the king and Futtafaihe, by both of whom they were received with great kindness. They dined with Futtafaihe, after which he accompanied them to the fiatookas, or sepulchres, of his ancestors. They lay ranged in a line eastward from his house, among a grove of trees; they were many in number, and of different constructions. Some, in a square form, were not raised above the level of the common ground; a row of large stones formed the sides, and at each corner two high stones were placed, upright at right angles to each other, and in a line with their respective sides. Others resembled that of Moomooe, which we have already described. A third sort were built square like the first; the largest of these was at the base one hundred and fifty-six feet by one hundred and forty. It had four steps from the bottom to the top, which ran quite round the pile; a single stone composed the height of each, a part of it being sunk in the ground; and some of these stones in the wall of the lower were immensely large. One which the first officer measured was twenty-four feet by twelve, and two feet thick. These stones had been brought in double canoes from the island of Lefooga. They were coral, and tolerably well worked both as to squares and surfaces. The people of the Duff could not conjecture how the labour of hewing them had been performed, such was their impracticable hardness; while such was their obvious antiquity, that they must have been worked long before Tasman first showed the natives an iron tool. Besides the trees which grew on the top and sides of most of them, there were the etooa, and a variety of other trees; and these, together with the thousands of bats which clustered like bees on their branches, all contributed to the awful solemnity

of those sepulchral mansions. On their way back, Futtafaihe told them, that all the fiatookas they had seen were built by his ancestors, who also lay interred in them—a fact which proved, that a supreme power in the government of the island must for many generations have been in the family of the Futtafaihes; for although there were many other fiatookas in the island, none were to be compared with these, either in the piles, or the stones which composed them.

The first mate describes the residence of the chief, and the aspect of one of its apartments, as follows:—"One of his wives was lying-in at this time, and we were conducted to the apartment where she was; it was extremely neat, and the floors were covered with mats. Both herself and the child had their skins coloured with turmeric, which gave them a glittering appearance, and they said this was their custom with women in childbed. She had several female attendants; and though Futtafaihe has many other children, all the people seemed elate and glad on this occasion. During our stay we visited several chiefs of both sexes, and received presents from each of them. As the evening approached we took our leave, and returned to the ship.

"Mooa is a beautiful place, especially where Futtafaihe's house stands. Proceeding from the lagoon about a quarter of a mile through fenced lanes, a spacious square green about half a furlong wide opens itself; at the further end of which the dwelling stands; on the same green, which is as smooth as if rolled, a few large spreading trees grow in an irregular disposition, which add much beauty to the scene. On the east side is a neat fence enclosing the long grove where the fiatookas stand; on the west are the dwellings of different chiefs in their enclosures; and along the north or lower side of the square, the great road runs from one end of the island to the other; this road is in general about six or seven yards wide, but eastward from the green, and for half a mile, it is not less than sixty yards wide. In this part there is a range of trees as large and spreading as the largest English oaks; and as their branches meet at the top, and quite exclude the sun's rays, a pleasant walk is afforded by their shade. Close by these, brothers Buchanan and Gaulton are situated."

CHAPTER XIII.

VOYAGE FROM TONGATABOO TO CHINA.

Danger of Shipwreck—Theft—Escape of Tucker and Connelly—Their Characters—Peter the Swede—The Carolinas—Pelew Islands—Arrival at China—Difficulties encountered—Health of the Duff's People—Impiety.

On Thursday, September 7th, the Duff weighed anchor, and proceeded on her voyage without anything material occurring till the 13th, when, about nine o'clock in the morning, the vessel struck on a coral reef, upon which the sea hardly broke to give the least warning. All hands in an instant were upon deck; and as she stuck fast, apprehensions of shipwreck rushed on their minds—a misfortune which was surrounded with circumstances of unusual horror. The first officer thus describes their condition:—"We knew that the Fijis were cannibals of a fierce disposition, and who had never had the least intercourse with any voyagers; consequently we could expect no favour from such. Imagination, quick and fertile on such occasions, figured them dancing round us, while we were roasted on large fires. However, it was no time to indulge thoughts of this kind, but to try what could be done to save the ship. Judging it to be a weather reef we were on, the moment she struck the sails were hove aback, and in about five or six minutes we beheld with joy that she came astern, and shortly after was quite afloat; when we were again delivered from our fears, and found the ship, which had kept upright the whole time, seemed to have received no injury. It was not possible to ascertain at sea what damage had been sustained, as she made no water; but on her coming into dock, we discovered how very wonderfully we had been preserved. The coral rock on which we struck, was providentially directed exactly against one of the timbers. The violence of the blow had beat in the

copper, deeply wounded the plank, and beat it to shivers. Had the stroke been between the ribs of the ship, it must have gone through, and we had probably never returned to adore the Author of our mercies. Thus the gracious Lord, who still guarded us with a shepherd's care, was pleased to show us the insufficiency of human prudence; and that, except we are kept by himself, 'the watchman waketh but in vain.' O that he would give us hearts of gratitude and thankfulness, in some measure proportioned to his daily mercies extended to us his unworthy creatures!"

The next occurrence of importance took place on the 25th of October, when they came in sight of a low island, and presently perceived some canoes coming towards them. Several of the parties in them were admitted on board, and for a considerable time showed no inclination to pilfer. Subsequently, however, they stole the rudder rings, an achievement which the skilful Friendly islanders had attempted in vain. Besides this, one fellow was caught handing a pump-spear into his canoe. Accustomed to such things, they only drove the natives off the decks for these first depredations; but while they sat at dinner in the cabin, they heard the rogues busy trying to knock off the bolt-head of the rudder-rings; but the Captain put a speedy end to this enterprise by firing some small shot among them. At this moment William Tucker and John Connelly, who had been liberated from confinement, were discovered swimming close under the stern, with an intent to escape to the canoes, and skulking from fear of being also fired at. But the Captain, enraged at Tucker for his ingratitude and deceit, and willing to part with Connelly, told them, that if they chose to go they might, for he would not fire at them. Connelly, true to the character of his country for wit and politeness, chin-deep in the ocean, cried out, "Thank you, sir;" they both swam away to the canoes, and were received by the savages with great shoutings. During his stay on board, Connelly had conducted himself with propriety, and being put on the ship's books as an ordinary seaman, seemed satisfied with his situation. The same might be said of Tucker, who had also been reinstated, and had often expressed his

happiness at being taken again after having run off from the ship at Otaheite—a declaration, which, at the moment, might be sincere, as it was believed that Connelly had persuaded him to this last act. The conduct of Tucker had long made it evident, that he was under the absolute rule of his passions; a fact the more lamentable on account of an excellent mother, of whom he was the only son. The spot on which the two unhappy men had chosen to pass their days, was a miserable island of not more than two or three miles' circumference, and all but destitute of the necessaries of life. Their choice, to all appearance, was so replete with wretchedness, that it was not imagined a third person could be found willing to follow their example; but such appeared to be the power and prevalence of habit, and such the debasing and enervating influence of vice and idleness over the human mind, that Andrew Cornelius Lind, the Swede, came to the Captain, and earnestly begged to be set on shore upon the next island that they should discover. This request was not only granted, but a selection of useful articles promised him, that he might be the better received among the natives, and be the more enabled to benefit them. On the 26th of October, the ship having reached a low island, she was soon surrounded by a number of canoes, into one of which accordingly Andrew went, and was received with joy by the savages. The canoe that took him in soon put off, and as it paddled away, the Swede stood up and waved his hand, apparently more elated than depressed by his change of situation. His tastes and habits were those of a man by birth a savage. The indolent life which he had led at Otaheite, the facility with which all his sensual appetites had there been gratified, the aversion which he felt to honest industry, and the necessity of labour in the event of returning to Europe, these considerations constrained him to prefer the society of savages, combined with all its attendant privations. Perhaps, too, he felt what all men feel, a pleasure in superiority—and such a feeling is always easily and abundantly gratified among hordes of naked men. Great indeed must have been the importance of a person who went ashore with two hand-saws, two

hatchets, one hammer, ten looking-glasses, eighteen knives, three hundred deck nails, two razors, and several other useful articles, all given by the Captain, besides his own little store, which included a Bible; and ultimately the honour and usefulness of such a man may not be small, as the first instructor of an island in the arts of civilized life, and as the pioneer of the messengers of the gospel of Christ.

On October the 25th, they discovered a group which, from their number, they designated Thirteen Islands, and which had a population of about three thousand souls. Of the inhabitants of this interesting cluster, the journal of the Duff thus speaks:—"Here, for the first time, we got a sight of their women, who, to the number of a dozen or more, came off in three canoes: in two they were accompanied by the men; the third was occupied by young women only. For a considerable time they kept aloof, whilst their own men seemed to eye them with attention; but observing that we did not regard them with any particular notice, they were suffered to approach within a few yards of the ship, which, as well as ourselves, they appeared to survey with delight. Some of them were well featured, having neither very thick lips nor broad faces, though inclining to both. Their hair is black and long. In complexion they differ from the men by a sickly kind of whitishness that is mixed with the natural olive. As we saw them almost naked, their greatest ornament and highest praise was the decency and modesty of their behaviour. The greater number of the men were naked also: some had a sash mat wrapped round their middle; others added an ornamental belt round their body near the navel: these belts are about an inch broad, composed of bits of black and white shells, bored and strung after the manner of beads. Some of them wore a broad conical hat, in form not much unlike that of the Chinese.

"These islands seemed alike in every respect, no one appearing to afford greater natural advantages than the other, except where the groups derive some enjoyments from neighbourhood; and perhaps more extensive shoals and smooth water afford a covert where the fish may shelter from the storm. Thus they may find greater resources than on

the island that is solitary. However, with respect to articles of exchange, they appeared to be equally stored: of these the staple is koir rope, thirty fathom of which we could purchase for a piece of an old iron hoop six inches long: this rope is in general about an inch thick, and equal, if not superior, in strength to our hemp-made ropes. As they everywhere expressed the most eager desire for iron, at the above price we might, by delaying a few hours at each island, have almost filled the ship with it, and would certainly have done it, had we known, what we have since learnt, that it will frequently fetch a good price in China. Their fishing-tackle differs little from what we had seen in the Eastern islands; but their matting was striking and curious, being wove and made in the form of a Spanish sash, with a fancy border at each end, wrought in with black threads. The natural colour of these sashes is white; but many of them are dyed of a beautiful yellow with turmeric. It is impossible to behold those neat-wrought sashes, and their rude manufacturers at the same time, without wondering, and wishing to know how they came by the art. It is not improbable that they might have been taught by the Jesuit missionaries, two of whom were sent by the Spanish government from Manilla in the year 1710; but as the ship that took them thither was driven away by the currents, the Jesuits were never heard of more: however, others were sent, who continued their efforts a few years, till having informed themselves of the general poverty of the islands, and certain that they never could be of value to the Spanish monarchy, they quitted them, and since that time (about 1720) they have been totally neglected. This makes it the more worthy of remark, that through so long a period this useful art should still be retained; and while it reflects credit upon their original teachers, is an encouragement to our missionaries to endeavour all in their power to introduce the mechanic arts, as it proves that their labour will not be in vain. Turtle is among the articles of their subsistence, and we purchased one of about twenty pounds weight for a piece of iron hoop about two feet long. They manage their canoes with great dexterity, and go from island to island apparently without fear;

from which free intercourse, and having no weapon, except a sling, among them, we concluded they had but few wars."

Having taken leave of the Carolinas, they shaped their course for the Pelews, which they came in sight of on the 6th of November. They approached within two short miles of Babelthorp—the largest island, divided into districts, each governed by a separate chief, acknowledging the supreme authority of Abba Thulle. When the Duff hove-to opposite the district of Artingall, upwards of two hundred persons were collected on the beach, and presently about a dozen canoes were seen upon the water, some under sail and others paddling. The natives, in those which came alongside, carried a piece of white cloth like a small flag, considered to be an emblem of peace, which they waved as they approached. They came without fear, or the least hesitation, and, in their manner, addressed the people of the Duff as those with whom they had been long acquainted, but in a language wholly unintelligible. They were extremely urgent that the Duff should come to an anchor; but the Captain could see no place where he deemed it safe to do so; he, therefore, presented his visitors with a few knives, looking-glasses, and other articles, and proceeded on his course to China. It was, however, matter of much regret with Captain Wilson, that he had not more intercourse with the Pelew islanders, as it had all along been his intention to stay among them a few days, in order to learn what he could of the inhabitants respecting the expediency of settling a Mission among them; and to prepare the way for its introduction by distributing some useful articles retained in the ship for these and the Fiji people, from a hope of being favoured at both places with safe anchorage and friendly intercourse. The opinions formed of these people are thus recorded in the journal of the Duff;—

"If we admit the few which we saw of the Pelew islanders to be a specimen of the whole, they are, in our opinion, inferior in external appearance to the Marquesans, the Society, or Friendly islanders: they have not the stature and symmetry of the two first, and fall far short of the muscular, bold, and manly look of the latter. They approach the

nearest to their neighbours, the Carolinians; for, like them, they are neither a stout nor handsome race. Among some customs which they seem to have in common at both places, is that of slitting the ear, through which some of them put vegetable ornaments, at least an inch thick. In tattooing at Pelew, their legs and thighs appear as if they had been dipped in a dye of bluish black, the same as at the Carolinas; but they mark their bodies also with figures, like fingers, or gloves. They appeared before us quite naked, without seeming conscious of shame, and showed their kindness and hospitality by the earnest invitations they gave us to visit their habitations."

From the 7th of November, when the Duff left the Pelew islands, till her arrival on the coast of China, nothing of any interest occurred. On the 20th, she got into soundings, and passed several Chinese fishing-boats. The next day at seven o'clock in the morning, being within two or three leagues of the Great Lemma, a pilot came on board, and modestly asked about one hundred dollars to take the ship to Macao road, but afterwards wisely accepted thirteen, besides giving her two fine fish. At three o'clock in the afternoon they came in sight of Macao, and at half-past four, cast anchor in the road. The pilot was then discharged, and a signal made for another; and that no time might be lost, their own boat was let down, and an officer despatched on shore to bring off a proper pilot, and also to learn what European ships were at Canton; but to their great mortification they found, that not one had yet arrived, and that there were no letters for them. Nor was this the only disappointment; the Chinese had lately refused to permit any vessel to proceed up to Whampoa, except such as brought thither cargoes. One ship from Port Jackson had been lying six weeks in the Typa, at the entrance of the river, and had not then obtained leave to go upwards; and Captain Wilson, on applying to the mandarin at Macao, was told, that, as he had brought no cargo, no pilot would be sent on board until the Honourable Company's supercargoes could prevail on the Chinese government at Canton for a passport.

The Duff had then run, from the time of her leaving England, upwards of thirty-four thousand miles, and been out fourteen months—eleven of them at sea; yet in all that time, her crew and officers had scarcely experienced any sickness, and were then, to a man, in perfect health; a circumstance, instrumentally, to be attributed to their limited number, compared with the companies of most ships of discovery, which enabled them to lay in a sufficient stock of fresh provisions at one group of islands, to serve, with economy, till they got to another. By this means they had always fresh meat at least twice a week; and for nearly half the time that they were in the South Seas, they lived entirely upon the hogs of the different islands; a species of food which they considered a very effectual anti-scorbutic. Something, doubtless, was also to be ascribed to the general character of the men, and their entire abstinence from all profligate practices.

Captain Wilson observes, that, on his arrival in port, "he was exceedingly shocked at hearing around him, once more, that great and awful name blasphemed, which, for fourteen months, he had never heard mentioned but with reverence; it was a sound as grievous as unusual."

CHAPTER XIV.

EVENTS AT CHINA AND THE VOYAGE HOME.

Difficulties overcome—The Duff loaded—The Ten Commandments—The Duff leaves China—Reaches the Cape of Good Hope—St. Helena—Arrival in the Thames.

Early on the morning of November the 22nd, Captain Wilson went in the pinnace to Macao, that he might attempt the removal of obstacles to the Duff's ascending to Whampoa; and on the morrow, a chop or passport, having been sent to the vessel from Port Jackson, mentioned in the last chapter, to proceed for Whampoa, Captain Wilson deemed it a good opportunity for him to go up in her, correctly judging, that a personal appearance at head quarters would accelerate the attainment of his object. On December the 9th, he returned with permission for the ship to go up the river. On the 10th, accordingly, the Duff weighed from the Typa, and her people, as they worked out, had the satisfaction of seeing three large ships at anchor in the eastern road; these, they hoped, had brought what they anxiously longed for—letters from England; and so, to their exceeding joy, it turned out.

The Journal of the Duff gives the following account of the circumstances which attended her, and led to her speedy departure for Europe:—"We now expected to be three months at least before we should receive our cargo, and be despatched home, which we supposed would be with a fleet composed of Indiamen, just at this time arrived. But the supercargoes having determined to despatch the Glatton, Boddam, and Amazon packet, they ordered an immediate survey to be made of our ship, and the report of the committee appointed for that purpose being, "That the Duff was in excellent order, and fit to receive a

cargo;" Mr. R. Hall, the head supercargo, told our Captain, that if he could take in our lading, and be ready to depart in the course of five or six days, he would despatch us. This the Captain promising to perform, teas were immediately sent alongside. But though the ship was in every respect in very good order, she was by no means clear for receiving a cargo; our hold was half full of water-casks, bread puncheons, tierces of beef, and various articles of stores beyond our consumption, and for which we had as yet found no purchasers; so that to dispose of these, and to remove them from place to place as we advanced in our lading, gave us more trouble and expended more time than taking in the cargo itself. However, by the 31st of December we were completely laden, and in a shorter time than perhaps ever ship was before; and having, by the kindness of the supercargoes, got over the difficulties which the Chinese are continually throwing in the way, we that same day ran down the river, and joined the other ships at a place called the Second Bar, just as they were getting under sail."

No such crew as that of the Duff had ever appeared at Whampoa. The singularity of their manners attracted general notice. From their discouragement of all immorality, from their utter abstinence from profanity, and from the appearance of unusual devotion maintained among them, the ungodly company they had now joined were led, in the bitterness of their scorn, to designate the Duff by a new name, and they, not altogether inappropriately, called her The Ten Commandments.*

On January the 2d, 1798, the Duff got down to Macao, where she found three English men-of-war, and seven of the Bombay cotton ships, at anchor, waiting for her to sail with them. Everything relative to the fleet's departure being arranged, and the ships in readiness, early on the 5th, they put to sea, with a fresh gale from the north, and found, that the Duff was fully competent to keep up with them, though her officers had apprehended the contrary, as the Indiamen

* "If they had been better acquainted with the Bible, they would probably have called her 'The Ark of the Covenant,' which was the vessel in which the Ten Commandments were kept."—Greatheed's MS. Notes.

are remarkable for their fast sailing, especially when it blows hard. On the 10th, they passed Pulo Sapata; on the 14th, they came in sight of the Malay coast, and saw, at the same time, a sail ahead. Having heard that an enemy's squadron was cruizing in the straits, Captain Wilson at first supposed that this might be one of them sent to look out; and such seemed the opinion of the Commodore, for he made signal for the fleet to prepare for action, and ordered one of the swiftest ships to chase. It was, however, soon ascertained, that she was a Portuguese vessel, and, therefore, a friend. In the afternoon they rounded Cape Romania, and spoke a ship from Bengal, at anchor under the lee point, which removed all fears of an enemy.

The straits of Malacca are considered dangerous to navigate in the dark, but as the wind was fair, the hardy and, perhaps, reckless Commodore kept the fleet running all night. On the 16th of March they came to, in the Malacca road, when most of the commanders went on shore, that they might gain information for the safety of the fleet. In this, however, they were not successful; there was no news of later date respecting Europe than that which they had received in China, and which announced only war. It was, therefore, deemed proper to prepare for all events on the passage. So far as human power and means of defence were concerned, they had no cause for fear, and they felt none. The ability and circumspection which they had observed in their Commodore, and the strength they would possess after the Bombay ships should have separated, inspired confidence.

They weighed anchor and pursued their voyage, having a good passage, meeting with few gales of wind, and no disaster; nor did they see a strange sail to please or to alarm them until March the 16th, when, in the morning, they made the Cape land, and fell in with two transports from Amboyna, which joined them. At night they hove-to, and waited for morning light to run for Table Bay, where they were directed to fill up their water-casks, and to refresh their crew. At daybreak, on the 17th, after they had borne away, one of their boys, going up the main shrouds to loose the main-topgallant sail, slipped his hold and fell into the sea; the

jolly-boat was instantly lowered from the stern, and thus the poor boy, when just on the point of sinking, was rescued from destruction. The lad was got on board, and although nearly gone, in the use of the ordinary means, he was soon recovered. At three o'clock in the afternoon they anchored in the bay, where they found a squadron of men-of-war, under the command of Admiral Christian; two outward-bound East Indiamen, with several Portuguese, Danes, Americans, and other vessels. In the evening the health-boat came to examine in what state the crew were, and, on finding them all well, gave permission for free communication with the shore. After them, the Admiral's boat upon guard took account of the ship, whence she came, and other customary particulars. From some of the ships they impressed a few men, but took none from the Duff. When the boat had left the Admiral's excellent regulations, which were given to all vessels coming into the bay, they departed. In a few days the Duff had got what water and stock she wanted; but it was not until the 1st of April, that the signal for sailing was made, and they put to sea, with the addition of the transport, Bellona, to their fleet. That same day they got out of sight of the Cape of Good Hope, and shaped their course for the island of St. Helena, where, on the 15th, they arrived in safety.

On the 16th, the Albion, an extra ship, was despatched by the governor for England, with advice of the fleet being on their passage. On the 1st of May, they sailed again, when Captain Drummond, being the senior in command, had the charge of the fleet, which consisted of twenty sail. During their passage, they saw only two or three strange ships. They fell in also with a small Spanish vessel from Cadiz, bound to Vera Cruz, which was made a prize by the Commodore. In this case, Mr. Robson, the gunner, who commanded the Duff next voyage, witnessed an example of the calamity which awaited himself and the ill-fated vessel, which then wafted him across the deep.

On the 23d of June, they saw the coast of Ireland, west of Kinsale; and on the day following put into Cork harbour for a convoy. For that purpose Admiral Kingsmill ap-

pointed the Ethalion, commanded by Captain Countess. On the 4th of July they saw the coast of England; on the 8th they passed the Downs; and on the 11th came to anchor in the river Thames; and in a few days they discharged their cargo of tea, in as perfect order as when received in China.

Thus terminated one of the most interesting voyages ever performed on the oceans of our world. It suggests a multitude of observations and reflections, all of which, however, we withhold in this place, to make way for reference to an individual whose services were only second to those of Captain Wilson himself, in value and importance. That individual is William Wilson, his nephew, and the first mate of the Duff. This highly accomplished seaman, to whom we have already seen Dr. Haweis paying a tribute of admiring respect, in addition to his official duties, wrote the Narrative of the Voyage, which he, or another under his sanction and superintendence, thus concludes:—"We have not lost a single individual in all our extended voyage; we have hardly ever had a sick list; we landed every Missionary in perfect health; and every seaman returned to England as well as on the day he embarked at Blackwall. We feel our gratitude rising high to the Author of all our mercies, and cannot but believe that every man who shall candidly peruse the foregoing sheets, will join us in acknowledging the gracious providence that hath supported us hitherto; whilst the generous and humane conductors of this benevolent undertaking will be animated by the success which hath attended their first attempt, to pursue with increasing energy an object which appears so fraught with blessings to mankind. The way into the southern ocean is now open, and the facilities for enlarging the missionary labours greatly increased. The settlements formed will every day continue to widen their circle of influence and usefulness; and new and vast countries around them, equally accessible, afford an inexhaustible field for the most vigorous exertions of Christian zeal. The more all circumstances are weighed, the more it must appear that this hath God done; and can we perceive that it is his work, and not at least confess our obligation to further these efforts to the utmost of our power? It is to be

hoped that every objection to this blessed undertaking will be now removed; that the cautious will confess themselves satisfied, and demonstrate their approbation by a more liberal assistance, because of past delay; that the prejudiced will nobly lay aside their opposition, and redeem unfavourable suggestions by immediate and generous acknowledgments that they knew us not; and that a mission to the heathen, planned with much deliberation, investigation, and zeal, and executed with eminent skill, perseverance, and success, bears a stamp of divine benediction upon it, which ought to commend it to every man's conscience in the sight of God. How much thankfulness, delight, and satisfaction, it must produce in the hearts of those who have been most active in the service, and such eminent benefactors to mankind, I need not say; their work itself is their first and highest reward. Having finished, as one of the inferior wheels in this great machine, the revolution, which received its impulse from the main-spring, I am for a while reposing on these happy shores of Britain; but my prayers will never cease for the prosperity of Zion, and for the furtherance of the missionary labours, of the commencement of which having been a favoured spectator, I cannot but indulge the pleasing expectation of abundant increase; and wait, with the multitude of those who believe the promises will be fulfilled in their season, to hear that His kingdom is advancing, who shall assuredly receive the heathen for his inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for his possession. The Lord hasten it in his time."*

* "This, though expressed as the language of a voyager, I apprehend to be that of Dr. Haweis, who compiled the whole from William Wilson's narrative of the voyage, and the journals kept by the Missionaries. Conceiving such a mixture to be liable to an appearance of incongruity, I had recommended that the narrative of the voyage should be given scientifically, and with suitable embellishments of maps, plates, etc.; and that what referred to religious opinions and feelings should be concentrated, with only brief and general accounts of other subjects, in a plainer style and cheaper form for extensive circulation among pious people. My proposal was approved, but could not be executed unless I undertook to prepare both the narratives for publication within a time that could not admit of performing the engagement suitably. Dr. Haweis was, therefore, requested to digest the narrative, and myself to furnish the preliminary discourse. To remedy the objection of expense, the work was reprinted in a smaller quarto, in an inferior manner, and sold proportionably cheap."—Greatheed's MS. Notes.

PART SEVENTH.

SECOND MISSIONARY VOYAGE.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY ARRANGEMENTS.

Day of Thanksgiving—Services in London—General Meeting—Resolution adopted—Thanks to Captain Wilson—Dr. Vanderkemp and others—Preparations for the Voyage—Classes of Candidates—Articles advertised—Liberality of Birmingham, Sheffield, and other Places—The Designation—Valedictory Communion.

The Directors of the Society having without delay acquainted the friends of the Mission with the arrival of the Duff, and the leading circumstances of the voyage, requested that the 6th of August, being the first Monday of the month when meetings for prayer in behalf of Missions were generally held throughout the kingdom, might be observed as a day of public thanksgiving. On this joyous occasion two sermons were preached in London; that in the morning by Mr. Griffin, of Portsea, at Surrey Chapel, from the appropriate words of the Apostle,—"Now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we can ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us; unto him be glory in the church by Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, world without end, amen." Messrs. Eyre, Griffith, Williams, Cooper, Townsend, Platt, and Leggett took part in the exercises of devotion. In the evening, Dr. Haweis preached in Zion Chapel, from the words of the Psalmist,—"The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." Messrs. Grove, Nichol, Greatheed, Pover, Ford,

Brooksbank, and Charles, of Bala, participated in the sacred engagements of that hallowed night.

At both services the attendance was very great, and never, perhaps, on any occasion in modern times, was the gratitude of a religious assembly more intense and cordial. Meditations on the past, however, were not permitted to exclude consideration of the future. On the following day, accordingly, the Directors convened a special general meeting of their constituents at Haberdashers' Hall, to deliberate on measures for the further promotion of the divine glory and the salvation of men, by maintaining a communication with the brethren already settled in the islands of the South Seas, and the establishment of other missions in that hemisphere. The report was read by Mr. Greatheed, and a resolution was passed empowering the Directors "to prepare for another voyage to the Pacific Ocean, for the purpose of visiting and assisting the brethren already there—of adding to their number where circumstances may render it necessary or expedient—and of planting the gospel in other islands, where it shall appear most eligible from their extent, population, or other favourable circumstances." Mr. Waugh, as chairman, in an appropriate address to Captain Wilson, expressed the grateful sense the Society entertained of his important services, as an instrument, referring to God alone the glory. The Captain, in reply, declared himself happy in having been honoured of the Lord, as an instrument, to promote the cause of Missions; and added, that although, for various private reasons, he wished to decline a maritime life, the interests of the Society should never suffer for want of his services—an assurance which was duly appreciated by the Directors and the whole assembly. The pleasure of the meeting was heightened by the presence of Dr. Vanderkemp, then on his way to Africa, and of two Dutch Missionaries, recently arrived from Holland, as also by that of the Rev. Mr. Disandt, a Lutheran clergyman introduced by Dr. Burckhardt, and sent from Germany by Baron Von Shirndling, with proposals of uniting and co-operating with the London Society, by assisting them both with Missionaries and funds.

The season being far advanced, not an hour was to be lost in the work of preparation, since the Directors had ordered the Duff to be ready for sailing by the end of November. The Committee of Provision and Conveyance engaged to accomplish everything relating to their departments; and the Committee of Examination set themselves in good earnest to the arduous work of providing Missionaries, and of making arrangements for their equipment. A spirit of personal consecration instantly broke forth from one end of the kingdom to the other. Offers of service, from persons single and married, poured in upon the Committee from every quarter. The candidates speedily became so numerous that a selection only could be received. Among these were men —preachers and catechists—not only "apt to teach" the doctrines of the Cross, but botanists, agriculturists, accomplished artisans of various orders; and, in addition to those, six of the brethren were instructed in the knowledge of medicine and surgery—a circumstance which rendered their services of peculiar value in the estimation of the Directors. Two of the sisters were likewise instructed in the practice of midwifery. For two of the medical men, and one of the most valuable mechanics, the Directors were indebted to the Edinburgh Missionary Society, from whom they had lately received a present of £400, in token of their affection and confidence, and desire to share with them in the good work.

In the Evangelical Magazine for October, a statement appeared of articles wanted for the equipment of the Second Mission to the South Seas. This curious announcement comprises one hundred and sixty-six articles, classed under eight heads—Provision, Ship, Raiment, Tools, Household Furniture, Stores, Instruments, and Books. The Directors also appealed to the increased pecuniary liberality of the churches to meet the passing emergency; and in both these respects the response was at once prompt and ample. Collections were extensively made both in the metropolis and in the provinces to meet the expense incurred by the equipment of the ship, with all necessaries for itself; the provisioning and other requirements for upwards of seventy persons; a supply for the wants of the brethren already settled

in the islands; and articles proper to exchange with the natives, or make presents to the chiefs. Birmingham then, as now, was foremost in the field: at a short notice, articles of its own manufacture, to a very considerable amount, were furnished by the friends of the Rev. Mr. Burn, of the Established Church, by the congregation of King-street Chapel, in connexion with the late Countess of Huntingdon, and by liberal individuals of other congregations. At Sheffield, too, the congregations of Mr. Boden—who still survives, venerable for age and for Christian excellence,—of Mr. Rees, and a worthy clergyman of the Establishment, procured between one and two tons of the manufactures of that place; and the congregations of the Rev. Mr. Kirby and the Rev. Mr. Hale, of Heckmondwicke, showed the like benevolence and zeal. But time would fail to recount the examples of individual and congregational liberality, both in town and country, towards this great object.

Alterations having been made on board the Duff for the better accommodation of ten married Missionaries, besides children, and for about twenty single men; and Mr. Robson, who, as we have already seen, had sailed with Captain Wilson, having been appointed to the command, a day was fixed for the designation of the brethren to their work of faith and labour of love. Accordingly, on Tuesday, November 13th, 1798, the Missionaries about to embark on this Mission were solemnly set apart at Spa-fields Chapel, when Dr. Haweis read the prayers of the Church of England, after which Mr. Jerment prayed extempore; a sermon was then delivered by Mr. Maurice, of Fetter-lane, from Rev. xi. 15, and a charge addressed to the Missionaries by Mr. Eyre, of Homerton, from Phil. i. 23; Mr. Townsend offered the designation prayer; Bibles* were delivered to each of the Missionaries, with a suitable address, by Messrs. Brooksbank, Hamilton, Hill, Platt, Radford, and West; and Dr. Hunter concluded with prayer. On the Tuesday evening of the following week, November the 20th, Messrs. Gregory, Hill, R. Levesque, and J. L. Vardy were ordained at Surrey

* The gift of Mr. Bailey, of Hackney, the donor of the Bibles on the former occasion.

Chapel. The Rev. Rowland Hill read prayers; Mr. Waugh preached from Phil. i. 18; Mr. Hill gave the charge; Mr. Howell, of Knaresborough, offered the ordination prayer; and Mr. Hamilton concluded the service. On the morning of Wednesday, the Directors and Missionaries breakfasted together, after which Mr. Hill prayed, and Mr. Townsend gave an exhortation. In the evening, the Missionaries unitedly commemorated the love of their divine Master, at his holy table, when Messrs. Eyre, Hill, Howell, Hunter, Kecherer, Nichol, Platt, Reynolds, Vanderkemp, and Waugh conducted the service.

CHAPTER II.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE DIRECTORS TO CAPTAIN ROBSON.

Relative Positions of Howell and Robson—Missionary Committee—Important Contingencies—Orders for Rio Janeiro—Orders for Cape Horn—Conduct of Captain Wilson—Relation between Missions and Christianity—Central Operation—Female Safety—Claims of the Friendly Isles—Fiji Islands—Marquesas—Otaheite—Discretionary Power—Distribution of Goods—List of Missionaries.

The wisdom and prudence which had from the first characterized all the movements of the Directors will be further illustrated by a consideration of the following admirable letter of instruction given to Captain Robson, relative to the affairs of the South Sea Mission. Nor are their benevolence and humanity less distinguishable than their wisdom and prudence. After some general remarks, the Directors thus proceed:—

"It is a very great satisfaction to us, and it will also, doubtless, afford considerable relief to your mind, that we are enabled to associate with you our highly esteemed friend and brother, the Rev. Mr. Howell, whose exemplary zeal for the honour of our Saviour, and the most essential interests of the human race, has disposed him to relinquish, for a time, the comforts of his respectable situation, that he may render his utmost services to promote the success of this important enterprise; he is, therefore, appointed and authorized to assist you in carrying these instructions into effect, and in particular to take the oversight of the more spiritual branches of the Mission during the voyage; to cherish and improve the religious attainments of the brethren; and to be the centre of union and affection among them. On shore he is to be the representative of the Directors in relation to the spiritual concerns of the Missionaries already settled; to observe their order; to inquire into the progress of the

work among the heathen, and to administer to them, as well as to those who accompany him, such assistance, encouragement, admonition, or advice, as may appear requisite. For these purposes we invest him with the authority of a permanent member of the committee, over which you are appointed the perpetual president; the rest of the committee are to consist of five Missionaries, elected from among themselves, and changed periodically. To this committee is confided the duty of fulfilling the Directions hereafter given; it being, however, understood that your concurrence, and that of Mr. Howell, is requisite to give validity to their resolutions; and the grounds for the exercise of this discretionary power must be recorded and stated to us. Those circumstances, however, respecting the management and navigation of the ship, which are within your province as its commander, are entirely and exclusively under your control, and the responsibility is limited to yourself.

"The number of persons who have been consecrated to this service consists of ten married men with their wives and seven children, and of nineteen single brethren. The very favourable opinion we entertain, both of their Christian character and of their sincerity and qualifications as Missionaries, we trust will be confirmed, both by their conduct during the voyage and their usefulness among the heathen. It is on the ground of those general maxims of circumspection, which require that we should provide against events which appear in some degree even improbable, and not because we entertain any doubt of the spirit, the fortitude, or the devotedness of our brethren now on the point of departure, or those already established in the islands, that we think it necessary to suggest the following instructions.

"Should any of them unexpectedly manifest a desire to withdraw from this service, previous to their quitting the coast,—or should they unhappily discover traits of disposition and character of so unfavourable a nature as to furnish strong grounds of apprehension that their influence would be injurious;—in either case it would be desirable to put them on shore, and furnish them with what may be sufficient for their subsistence till they can reach their residence.

" If, when you arrive at Rio Janeiro, any of them should discover a reluctance to proceed, and request to be left at that place, it would be proper to acquiesce therein, leaving with them the means of support till it is probable they may have the opportunity of working their way to Europe:—but although this may be a sufficient expense for the Society to incur, in a case in which we only comply with the wish of the individual; yet if you and the committee should find it necessary for the good of the cause to separate from you an unsuitable Missionary, and have the opportunity of conveying him either to England direct, or through the way of Lisbon, it would be prudent to submit to that expense rather than risk the success of the Mission by the infectious society of an injurious member.

" We must add, also, that if, when you arrive at the islands of the South Seas, any of the present or of the former Missionaries should be desirous of returning to England with the ship, this desire should not be complied with, except on very urgent grounds, as it would form a very pernicious precedent. Extreme indisposition, arising from the climate, ought to be considered as a reason for their removal to another place more likely to suit their constitution; but should not be concluded immediately to be a sufficient cause for conveying them home.—A desire of returning with the ship, arising from fickleness of mind, or a declining zeal for the service, if gratified, would operate as an encouragement to others to offer themselves as Missionaries, under the secret persuasion that they also might be allowed to return after having satisfied an idle curiosity, or a wandering disposition, and thus prove essentially injurious.

" Should there be any whose tempers or religious opinions are so uncongenial to their brethren as to occasion animosities and divisions, such should be removed to a situation where they may be likely to harmonize better with their associates, but not brought home to England, except their continuance in the islands would prejudice the great cause, the protection and promotion of which must indeed be the principal rule by which your conduct, and that of the committee, on these occasions should be regulated. Thus it is

possible that a necessity may be imposed upon you to remove some whose continuance may be incompatible with the prosperity of our undertaking; and you may be obliged to proceed to this measure even against the consent of the injurious members,—it being, however, assumed, that you act herein with the concurrence of the body of the Missionaries, without which there would not be a sufficient proof to us of the necessity of the measure; and it might also disturb the harmony of the society there, as well as diminish the respect which they would otherwise entertain for the Directors at home. It will be left to your discretion whether to leave these on some other island, with their own concurrence, where their personal security and subsistence can be well ascertained; or to bring them with you to China, and let them work their way home in some English vessel; or to allow them to return in the Duff; it being, however, understood that our engagements to bring home a cargo of tea from China will render it impracticable to extend this indulgence to more than three persons. This limitation, however, does not extend to the case of removing any of them on account of personal insecurity. We have great reason to state this to be a very improbable circumstance; and should it even occur, it might be only necessary to convey them from one island to another; it is, however, suitable to record it as an indubitable principle, that the safety of the Missionaries is a consideration to which every other is subordinate.

"Having finished this unpleasant part of our duty, and which, we sincerely hope, the event will prove to have been unnecessary, we proceed to enlarge more particularly on the plan and dispositions of this important enterprise.

"As soon as you have received your Missionaries on board, together with the stores for the voyage, and for their use in the islands, you are to proceed without delay to Portsmouth, and sail with the first convoy that may be appointed, attaching yourself thereto, and keeping company therewith, so far as its course and yours may coincide; after which you are at liberty to separate from it, and proceed to the port of Rio Janeiro, on the coast of Brazil. On your arrival there you will have an opportunity of laying in five or six hogs-

heads of wine, and an ample stock of fresh provisions, on moderate terms; you will, if requisite, procure a supply of sugar for the use of the Missionaries. You will also take with you from thence one ram sheep and two ewes, which are intended for the Friendly Islands. The dollars with which you are provided will serve you for the payment of these articles, and the surplus you will have occasion for in the further progress of your voyage. From this place you will forward your despatches, addressing them to Mr. Joseph Hardcastle, the Treasurer to the Institution.

"We cannot recommend you to prosecute the remainder of your voyage by attempting to double Cape Horn, the success of which is very precarious; and the extreme rigour of the climate would be very unsuitable to the women and children, and would also inevitably occasion the loss of the live stock, on the preservation of which the health of the ship's company and passengers materially depends. We advise you, therefore, on your departure from Rio, where your detention, we hope, will not exceed a week, to stretch immediately into the latitude of about 40°, or where you find the west wind blowing steadily, and pursue your course to the island of Tongataboo, which it is our desire that you should first visit, and where you will enter on the most important branches of your expedition.

"The great object of your voyage, and the rule of your duty, is defined in the following resolution of the Society at their general meeting, viz.:—'That the Directors be authorized to prepare another voyage to the Pacific Ocean, for the purposes of visiting and assisting our brethren already there; of adding to their number where circumstances may render it expedient; and of planting the gospel in other islands where it shall appear most eligible, from their extent, population, or other favourable circumstances.'

"It is a peculiar satisfaction to us to reflect, that, in consequence of your having accompanied the last Mission, observed the occurrences upon the islands, witnessed the discreet, the judicious, and successful principles upon which the invaluable Conductor of that expedition proceeded, you are so well qualified for the execution of this peculiar ser-

vice; yet it will be satisfactory to you, as it is incumbent also upon us, to state to you the plan which we recommend, and the principles upon which it is founded.

"The first duty of the Directors is to assist and strengthen the Missions already established. This is founded in a just view of the real interests of the cause we have undertaken, and in the soundest principles of discretion. The peculiar mode in which our Missions are conducted, and the qualifications we require in the instruments we employ, proceed upon the conviction that an important alliance subsists between the principles of civilization and those of Christianity; if this is not well founded, then the plans we have adopted are unwise, our instruments ill chosen, and our expectations fallacious; but universal observation and experience decide that they have a beneficial relation to each other, apparently founded in the order of Providence, and in the constitution of our nature. The civilization of the untutored heathen, so expedient to bring them into a position favourable for evangelical instruction, requires the united exertions of various individuals with diversified talents, and the exemplification of the influence of social institutions. It is by these means that the manners and habits of improved society are gradually superinduced; the elementary principles of useful knowledge are communicated to the minds of a number of youth of both sexes; a plan of innocent and beneficial employment instituted; the habits of application and improvement impressed; and a gradual and solid process towards the maturity of wisdom and goodness in the understanding and the heart may be expected, by the divine blessing, to be produced abundantly in succeeding generations. Thus has the Society wisely decided, that it is an important part of our duty to give solidity and establishment to our former attempts, and cause the Missions already planted to take a deeper root.

"Our next object is, to form new Missions; and the application of discreet and judicious principles should regulate our measures in this part of our duty also. It is well known that a number of populous islands, in which there is the probability of an entrance, are profusely scattered through-

out the Southern Ocean, and that our most extended efforts are very inadequate to so enlarged a field. What, therefore, should be the rule of selection where the advantages appear equal as to population, means of subsistence, and personal security? Not, certainly, the extreme distance from each other, which renders their intercourse impossible; but rather the principle of connexion which, while it admits of a scope for exertion far greater than our instruments can supply, allows also the possibility, by means of navigation within their power, to obtain an occasional association for purposes of counsel, of assistance, of comfort, and of retreat; advantages which may prove of inestimable importance. You will, therefore, be apprized of the utility of strengthening, at the same time that you are extending, your operations on every side.

"There is another principle of regulation, which we now think it suitable to suggest. You will perceive that it is our wish that the Missions already formed should be reinforced, so as that all of them may consist of families, and of single brethren; the former exhibiting the model of a little society, under useful regulations, and of a Christian church, with its beneficial discipline; the latter for the purpose of itinerating, and, with the zeal of Evangelists, spreading abroad the welcome tidings of redemption. Yet, with respect to the settlement of new Missions, our recommendation is, that they consist of single brethren *only;* as it would be evidently improper, in our present circumstances, to place women and children in situations where their security and accommodation have not been previously, in a great degree, ascertained. The risk and inconvenience of new Missions fall, therefore, properly on our single brethren, who must prepare the way for the introduction of families, which it will doubtless be the desire of the Society hereafter to send out, as the means of our communication with these islands will diminish in expense as our establishments there are enlarged and consolidated. We suggest, also, that no settlement of married persons should consist of a less number than three families; as in the event of the death of a married brother, the widow would be placed in a very distress-

ing situation, if she had not the consolation of a female friend at hand; but in a settlement of three families, there is a very considerable security against a circumstance so afflicting.

"The personal security of the females is an article of such importance, that we cannot too forcibly inculcate upon you a constant attention to it, when you are considering the propriety of establishing families at the islands hereafter mentioned, and pointed out to you as stations where, in our opinion, they may be advantageously placed; and it is our decisive direction, that none may be left in any situation where, in the opinion of the Missionaries already settled, there would be any probability of their being liable to any molestation. Rather than incur a risk of this nature, it would be far more desirable to take all the families to Otaheite, and place them there, provided the conduct of the natives towards those females, who will then have been so long among them, should have been such as to satisfy you of the propriety of this measure. That this will be the case we have strong encouragement to hope. But if we should unexpectedly be disappointed in this persuasion, you must be governed by your discretion, observing, however, this general direction, that no consideration can justify your leaving females in any situation where you have reason to be apprehensive on this head.

"Having thus stated the exposition of the principles on which we believe it to be our duty to act, we now advance to the specific plan which we recommend as the result of these considerations. The Friendly Islands, containing in their aggregate such an immense population, are entitled to a considerable proportion of our attention; especially as the conduct of the natives appears to be less dissipated than at the Society Islands, and their intellectual character more vigorous;—they appreciate European improvements also more highly, and seem, therefore, in a state more accessible to instruction. We conceive, on these grounds, that Tongataboo should form as considerable a missionary station as Otaheite, and that it may be advisable to settle there four of our families, and six of our unmarried brethren. This,

however, should be determined by the information you receive from the friends already there, whose judgment of the disposition of the chiefs and natives, in regard to this object, of the prospect of usefulness, and especially of the probable security of our females, must from their long residence be entitled to much more regard than any opinions we are capable of forming here.

"Presuming, therefore, that this measure may be deemed advisable, there are two other islands, forming a part of this very numerous group, that appear to us eligible for the purpose of Missionary exertions. One of them is *Vavao*, and the other, one of the Navigator's Islands—the former situated about the midway, and distant from each about two hundred miles. A communication between Tongataboo and the more distant of these has been ascertained, by means of the Pandora's first and second visit, in one of which a Tongataboo chief was seen at Oteeway or Chatham Island, and in the other at Ototuclah, both of them considerable islands in the group called Navigator's. Captain Edwards describes the natives as honourable in their dealings and inoffensive in their manners. If, however, our friends continue to enjoy the protection and countenance of the chiefs, and can rely on their representation, a more satisfactory conclusion may be derived from the information they will be able to obtain, than from the transient visit of Captain Edwards; admitting then that you should be induced to attempt the introduction of Missions into these places, we are inclined to recommend that two single brethren be fixed in *Vavao*, and four in one of the Navigator's Islands; besides a brother at each place, taken from the former settlers at Tongataboo. We need not state the necessity of our present friends being accompanied by those who understand the language, nor can we question the willingness of our brethren, who are devoted to the interests of our Saviour's kingdom among the heathen, to lend their assistance in the formation of those new Missions, to which they are particularly exhorted by an address from the direction which you will deliver to them.

"It will, moreover, be expedient that besides the two

brethren from Tongataboo, you should be accompanied also by one of the chiefs, whose influence may secure your introduction. We hope that you will find the chiefs so prepossessed in our favour, and so sensible of the benevolence of our motives, and the usefulness of our residence among them, that they will solicit the advantage, rather than require much importunity from us; indeed, a reluctant consent on the part of a chief, should have upon your minds the force of a negative, where there is so great a probability that your visit would be welcomed in far more islands than we can possibly supply.

"Your attention will probably be next directed to one of the Fiji islands, between which and Tongataboo there is most likely a frequent intercourse; and our brethren will, therefore, be competent to form a solid opinion of the eligibility of an attempt in that quarter. If this should be accomplished, there would be a very extended field of action, with the advantage of occasional intercourse and co-operation. The Fiji islands have likewise this recommendation, that they form a connecting link with other immense and populous islands to the north-west; the inhabitants are of two distinct races, one probably from the same origin as the Friendly islanders, and the other of a darker hue, and supposed to speak the same language as the people of the New Hebrides, the Solomon isles, and Caledonia. A Mission, therefore, established in the Fiji Islands is the natural means of facilitating our introduction to those. On this occasion also, as before, we must take with us a friendly chief, and one of our brethren from Tongataboo; the latter, with two of our present single friends, may be sufficient for our first attempt.

"In the preceding directions we have assumed, that the Missionaries intended for Vavao, the Navigator's, and Fiji Islands, are to be conveyed there in the Duff; it is probable, however, that on consultation with the brethren of Tongataboo, it may appear more expedient for you to proceed immediately to the Marquesas than to detain the ship, and the rest of the Missionaries by this circuitous course. In this case you will not only leave at Tongataboo the families and

single brethren intended to remain there, but also the eight individuals designed for the islands above mentioned; and it is probable that, by means of the friendly interference of the chiefs, it will be very practicable to establish our brethren in these different stations during your absence; but should this expectation be disappointed, they will have acquired a considerable acquaintance with the language and the manners of the natives, and thus be prepared to enter with increased advantage into the duties of their respective settlements on your return.

"Having adjusted these important concerns with as much expedition as is suitable, you will next direct your course to the islands of the Marquesas, where we hope you will meet with the solitary and intrepid brother Crook, in safety and health. From him you will acquire ample information concerning the natives, and be enabled to decide as to the scale on which it may be prudent to make a settlement among them; if his representation should prove sufficiently encouraging, it may be advisable to leave in one of the islands three families, with two or three single brethren. If, however, you should not meet Mr. Crook, either on account of his being removed from thence,—which is not very probable, —or on account of his being called to his reward in a higher state of existence, we would by no means recommend you to leave any of our married friends there, except he has left such information in writing as satisfies you of the propriety of the measure. You will, however, exercise your discretion, in conjunction with the Committee, whether to leave any single brethren, what number, and on which of the islands. It is doubtless known to you, that the group consists of ten or more, and that Christina, where brother Crook was left, is far inferior in size to Trevener's and Sir Harry Martin's; the latter is supposed to be ten times greater; being also very populous and fertile, and having fine bays for shipping.

"From the Marquesas you will gladly proceed to the island of Otaheite, in the hopes of having a happy interview with the circle of Christians in Matavai. We trust you will find, that they have experienced the continued protection of Divine Providence, and the plentiful influences of the Spirit

of grace; continuing stedfastly in the Apostle's doctrine and fellowship, in breaking of bread and in prayer; being also, like the primitive disciples, of one heart and one soul, and bearing witness, with great power, to the death and resurrection of the Lord Jesus. Here then we hope you will place in health and security the rest of our beloved friends, and consult with the brethren on the best plan of your further proceedings. We suppose you will carry to *Otaheite* three families and three single brethren; a number sufficient to form a promising Mission in one of the Society Islands, whichever of them may be thought most eligible. It would, however, perhaps, be most advisable that these should be fixed at *Otaheite*, where, among so many friends, they would soon acquire the language, and be capable of an immediate entrance into some station of usefulness in the economy there. In this case the work of establishing a Mission at Ulietea, Otaha, Bolabola, or some other of this group, will devolve upon the brethren now at *Otaheite*, who are doubtless best qualified for it; and will accomplish it by means of families, or at first by single brethren, as prudence may dictate. If, however, it should be thought best that the brethren already residing at Otaheite should continue there, as the station most useful to them, still they will doubtless appoint a deputation of single brethren to precede or accompany the new Mission intended for one of the other islands, and take with them a well-disposed chief, to facilitate their introduction and establishment.

"If it should please God, to whose will we desire to bow with profound adoration, to realize the scheme we have ventured to suggest, we shall have occasion to contemplate the general aspect of our concerns in these islands with satisfaction and thankfulness: there will then be three considerable Missionary stations, surrounded by other accessible islands, and each presenting a scope for unlimited exertions. We shall have at each a little model of a Christian community, an economy of well-regulated families, whose fixed residence will enable them to take under their immediate care a considerable number of children or young persons, and instruct them, both by precept and example, in every branch of do-

mestic, social, and sacred duty. By this means the female natives will also be accessible to instruction, without which every plan of Missions will be inadequate and inefficient. There will be also a number of single brethren, who will occasionally take their circuits through the contiguous islands, and prepare the way for the entrance of the kingdom of God among them; these will probably be frequently accompanied by some of the natives, whose hearts the Lord may have opened to attend to the things which have been spoken to them by his servants.

"But as it is possible that very strong and satisfactory reasons may present themselves when you arrive at the South Seas, to induce you to deviate very materially from the plans we have prescribed, we confide with you and the Committee the power of superintending and arranging as appears best this interesting undertaking; believing you will exercise your discretion, and seek the influences of superior wisdom to guide you. It will also require a great degree of attention and prudence to decide which of the individuals are to be placed in their respective stations. We hope they will be inclined by a Divine influence to the situations most suited for them; and to the selection of those associates with whom they are likely to be the most comfortable and useful. It will, however, occupy the attention of the Committee in which you preside, and you will probably be directed in a considerable degree by the following considerations.

"The claims of consanguinity or of friendship should be duly regarded; attachments will be formed during the voyage, arising from a congeniality of disposition or sentiment; and it is probable that this internal feeling may produce such associations among them as may greatly facilitate their respective distribution.

"A regard to the principle of utility will, however, chiefly sway both yourself and the Missionaries; you will consider what description of individuals are now fixed at Otaheite and at Tongataboo: and you will look over the qualifications of those who accompany you, and this will have an influence upon the question. At the latter place there is at present no smith; it is doubtless important that so large a

station as that is likely to be, should have a person understanding that occupation among them. One of the brethren understands the business of pottery, but is unacquainted with mechanics; he would be extremely valuable in a situation where the nature of the soil admits of the exercise of that branch of the useful arts, and far less serviceable in any other place. Those individuals who have been ordained to the ministry of the Gospel must necessarily be separated among the different missions; as well as the surgeons, one of whom should, if possible, be fixed in every station, and two at Otaheite.

"You will also require great wisdom in the distribution of the various articles which make up your cargo; apportioning to each Mission the implements and materials best adapted for them, and such a quantity and assortment of general articles as their numbers and circumstances may entitle them to. You will have under your direction certain articles particularly designed as presents to the Chiefs; but it is not intended that you should be restricted in your donations to these. The countenance and protection of the leading men is so necessary, that the safety and comfort of our brethren, and the success of the Mission, require that their good will should be conciliated. We do not, however, recommend, that they should be induced to consider these articles as the price by which we purchase their consent to settle among them. On the contrary, they must be considered as gratuities, and the free expressions of our disinterested regard; and they should look upon our willingness to establish a Mission among them as an advantage far superior to all other things. Thus you will forbear to solicit, or press upon them this permission; but rather express your readiness to convey, if they wish it, the inestimable advantage to some other island, and consent to bestow upon them this great mark of our good will, on condition that they undertake to provide our brethren with land sufficient for them, and assist them to procure comfortable accommodations; engage for their personal security, and manifest every kind and friendly attention to them; in return for their having relinquished their country and connexions, from the

desire of contributing to their improvement and happiness.

"Thus we have offered to you such advice as appeared suitable to us to suggest. A variety of emergencies will arise which cannot be anticipated, and to which no specific directions can now be applied. Your experience and prudence, aided by the wisdom of the Committee, and more especially, we trust, by the wisdom which is from above, will be sufficient for your regulation. We commit to your tender care a number of individuals highly endeared to us, and precious to our Lord Jesus Christ. You will regard them with the feelings of a father, and the affections of a friend. They claim your utmost sympathy: they will need your Christian experience to counsel them, and perhaps your wisdom to harmonize them. Various anxieties, pensive recollections, the agitations of hope and apprehension, will invade their bosoms, and demand the relief of a sympathetic tear, and the refuge of a congenial mind. As our own children, we confide them with you, and especially commit them, under all their occasional depressions and fears, into the hands of our compassionate High Priest, who has a fellowship in our feelings, and is intimate with our griefs. We commend this great work, and yourself, its Conductor, to the especial protection and blessing of God all-sufficient,—the fervent prayers of many righteous men will be offered up in its behalf without ceasing, and, we trust, will be effectual and avail much." *

* The following is a list of the Missionaries on board the Duff:—
Rev. William Howell, of Knaresborough, Superintendent of the Mission.

From London.

Clark Bentom.
Spence Broughton.
W. Gregory, wife, and three children.
W. Hayward.
Robert Hughes and wife.
James Jones, wife, and child.
John Levesque and wife.
Peter Levesque and wife.
Griffith Parry.
James Reed.
James Smith.
Joseph Smith.
William Loddy.
Thomas Watters.
James Wilson.
John Youl.

From Edinburgh.

John Beatie, wife and child.
George Greig and wife.
John Hill and wife.
Daniel Miller.

From Rotherham.

Joseph Cooper.

From Hackney.

Thomas Fitzgibbon.

From Falmouth.

John Guard.
Walter Hawkins, wife, and child

From Ipswich.

John Gerrard.

From Perth.

John Macdonald.

From Manchester.

John Mitchell.

From Bury St. Edmond's.

J. L. Vardy and wife.

CHAPTER III.

VOYAGE FROM ENGLAND TO CAPE FRIO.

National Thanksgiving—Missionary Prayer Meeting—The Duff leaves the Downs—Danger from Fogs—Employments at Spithead—Last Sight of Land—Noble Examples of Christian Kindness—Terrible Storm—Religious Arrangements—Repeated Frights—Self-defence.

On Tuesday, November 20th, the Duff dropped down the river, and on the 27th, the single Missionaries embarked for Gravesend, where they arrived on the morning of the 29th, which was appointed for a national thanksgiving. The Missionaries accordingly thought it proper to mingle their grateful acknowledgments with the millions of England for their common mercies; and soon after the ship was brought to an anchor, public service was held on the quarter-deck, in which many of the friends of Gravesend cheerfully united. Mr. Peter Levesque preached from 1 Cor. xv. 57, "Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory." In the evening, Mr. Wilks preached in the Meeting-house in that town, from 1 Sam. vii. 12, "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us." The next day, Friday, the Duff weighed anchor, and arrived in the Downs about noon on Sunday, when a short service immediately commenced; in the evening Mr. Bentom preached, and the Lord's Supper was afterwards dispensed. On the evening of Monday, December the 3d, being the period fixed for the monthly Missionary prayer meetings, the Missionaries on board united in supplication for the coming of the kingdom of the Son of God. On Wednesday the 5th, the married Missionaries left town for Portsmouth; and next morning, the wind being fair, the Duff, in company with about seventy other vessels, proceeded from the Downs to Spithead, where she arrived on Saturday. On their passage they were enveloped in a thick fog, wherein several ships ran aground, among

which was the Henry Addington, East Indiaman, which afterwards went to pieces. Next day Mr. Bogue, of Gosport, and Mr. Edwards, one of the Missionaries appointed to Africa, came on board and delivered two discourses; and in the afternoon several of the Missionaries went over to the Isle of Wight, where one of them preached. From Sunday to Thursday communication with the land was interrupted by the state of the weather. On Friday morning the signal was made for sailing, and the married Missionaries went on board with their families; but on Saturday the wind again proving unfavourable, they were detained over another Sabbath. The morning of that holy day being very fine, service was again observed on the quarter-deck, when two other captains in the fleet, with their ladies, and part of their crews, united in the worship; Mr. Wilks preached in the morning from 2 Tim. ii. 15, "Study to show thyself approved;" and Mr. Macdonald in the afternoon. On Wednesday the 19th a favourable breeze sprang up, signal was made for sailing, and early next morning the fleet weighed again, under convoy of the Amphion frigate, and was out of sight before noon. On that day they bade adieu to Mr. Wilks and other friends, and looked for the last time, as it was supposed, upon the land of their nativity.

Now that they were fairly out, and had time to reflect, the hearts of the voluntary exiles for the sake of Christ and souls were deeply affected by the kindness of Christian brethren at the outset of their voyage. Churches and individuals vied, with a lovely emulation, in acts of tender attention to the Missionary band, and in providing for their personal comfort. As the ship passed by Greenwich and Woolwich, Christian brethren came on board, and none of them empty-handed. At Gravesend a collection had been previously made, and the amount laid out in suitable presents. Zealous friends to the cause at Sheerness, having procured live stock and other necessary articles, were not a little disappointed by the ship's passing that port at night, which prevented the pleasure of presenting these tokens of affection to the servants of the Redeemer. The congregations, too, of the Rev. W. Priestley, at Deal, and the Rev. G. Townsend,

at Ramsgate, were upon the look-out, and no sooner did they discover the blue flag with three doves from the mizen top, in passing the North Foreland, than they hastened on board to testify their warm attachment; and during her stay in the Downs poured in their valuable presents in such profusion, and with such cheerfulness, as deeply to affect the hearts of the band who were going far hence to the Gentiles of Polynesia. The numerous friends in the towns adjacent to Spithead were animated by a similar spirit. Immediately after the arrival of the ship in this port, a collection was made at the Rev. Mr. Griffin's, Portsea, amounting to the sum of forty pounds, notwithstanding a like sum had recently been raised by the Rev. Mr. Bogue, of Gosport. The friends on both sides of the water united also in procuring or preparing comfortable lodgings for the married Missionaries, and in rendering them every assistance which could conduce to their happiness during their stay on shore. An individual at Portsmouth gave a large quantity of wearing apparel suited to the climate of the Pacific Ocean. Nor were the excellent Mr. Kingsbury and his faithful flock, who had from the first been distinguished benefactors to the great cause, wanting on the present occasion. With a generosity worthy of their character, they freighted a sloop from Southampton, and loaded it with live stock, provisions, clothes, medicine, and stores. Last, not least, in the roll of benefactors, was the British Government, which not only appointed a convoy without delay, but generously remitted the exportation duty; and even the clerks in the public offices handsomely declined their usual fees.

The weather at the outset of the voyage was unfavourable. On the 21st of December the wind shifted, and the whole fleet was driven back into Portland Roads. On Sunday the 23d, it became favourable again, the signal for sailing was hoisted, and they all got under weigh. Mr. Howell, who had been on shore, returned, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Lamb, of Weymouth, who after prayer with the brethren departed. At ten o'clock the company assembled for worship on the quarter-deck, when Mr. Howell preached from Psalm lxxxiv. 11, "For the Lord God is a Sun." At half-

past two o'clock they met again, when Mr. Gregory preached from the beautiful and appropriate words of Psalm xxix. 10, 11, "The Lord sitteth upon the floods; yea, the Lord sitteth King for ever; the Lord will give strength to his people; the Lord will bless his people with peace." By this time they had lost sight of land, and began to experience those peculiar emotions which none can understand, who have not been placed in similar circumstances. The descent of the first sun at sea is an awful hour. Severed from every object with which our being has been associated, like spirits which have taken their flight into eternity, the mode of existence is new. A thousand visions of home and country, and a father's fireside, follow the pilgrim across the deep, rendering his breast a counterpart of that heaving ocean to whose fierce dominion his all is now committed. The season and the weather combined to deepen the solemnity of this awful time. The 25th, Christmas, was a dismal day to most of them. The breeze was strong, the sea ran high, and severe indisposition had seized and prostrated most of the numerous company. The hatches were battened down, and they shipped several seas. The gale increased, and on Thursday became so severe, that all communication was cut off between the Missionaries. Notwithstanding the battening of the hatches, much water was admitted, enough to float most of the articles of the Missionaries between decks, especially those in the cabins of Messrs. Jones and Gregory, which were opposite the main hatchway. They "lay to," with their topgallant mast struck, shrouds lashed, and yards pointed to the wind; but the tempest continued to rage with tremendous fury. The mountainous billows smote the vessel with such violence, that the company often imagined she had been dashed upon a rock. Her timbers cracked, and while she quivered from stem to stern, and was tossed to and fro, the furniture of the cabin and the articles between decks were thrown about against each other, and few of the trembling passengers were able to keep their places. One dreadful sea ran so high that it overtopped the mizen-mast head, and a mass of its waters deluged the cabin. The warring elements increased in power and fury till about midnight, when

a spirit of overwhelming dismay took hold of all hearts. A portentous silence, like a pause before a battle, before the first volley of death, prevailed for some time,—a silence interrupted only by the roaring of the tempest, the cracking of the cordage, and the crashing of the contents of the labouring vessel. The alarm, however, of this dreadful night subsided, and cheerful hope returned with the morning, when the storm abated, the hatches were unbattened, and the trembling prisoners once more welcomed the light of day. Captain Robson came down in the morning, and expressed his joy at seeing them all alive, declaring that he had felt more during the past night, than during the whole two years of the previous voyage. On the morning of this day public worship, which had been supended since Tuesday, was restored. On Saturday it was ascertained, that two of the fleet were missing, whether sunk or only separated was not known. On Sunday the 30th, worship was conducted according to the plan adopted, viz., that on Sunday there should be a prayer meeting at six o'clock morning and evening; preaching morning and afternoon; a lecture on Tuesday and Friday evenings; and public prayers every morning and evening.

On the night of January 1st, 1799, they lost their convoy, and none of the fleet were in sight. On the morning of the 3d, a strange sail appeared on their lee bow, which soon hoisted her ensign and pendant, and bore down upon them. An alarm arose lest she should prove a French privateer. At half-past 11, A. M., she came close under their stern, and hailed them, when to their joy they found that she was an American armed brig of fourteen guns, well manned, from Philadelphia, and bound to Leghorn. The next ten days passed comfortably; on the 7th they saw the island of Palma, which was capped with clouds, that prevented the sight of its towering summit. On the 10th they crossed the Tropic, and with a favourable breeze entered the torrid zone. The 14th brought them within view of St. Anthona and St. Vincent, two of the Cape de Verd islands. They got abreast of these beautiful isles about noon, and were delighted with

the solemn and majestic sight; the clouds rested on their tops, and the beams of a most brilliant sun poured their splendours on all beneath. About daybreak on the morning of the 16th, fears were excited by another strange sail bearing down upon them. The Captain, apprehensive that she might prove an enemy, summoned on deck all the single brethren to assist in setting all sail; the married Missionaries were not roused lest it should alarm the females; but hearing the noise they speedily ascended. Alarm, however, soon subsided, on finding that she crowded all sail and bore away from the Duff, leaving her to pursue her course.

On the 30th, their fears were renewed about six o'clock in the morning by the sight of two strange sails, a ship of war and a schooner, which was supposed to be her prize. The schooner was sent off, and the ship gave chase to the Duff, which excited the utmost alarm, as her situation led them to suppose that she would speedily overtake them. On this occasion Captain Robson manifested the utmost anxiety, and immediately put about the ship, crowding all possible sail, and placing extra ropes where it was supposed they might be necessary, as the wind blew hard, while the Missionaries were placed to trim the ship that they might escape captivity. About seven o'clock, however, they conducted their usual worship. Some supposing that the enemy gained, a conversation took place on the propriety of resistance, in the event of her overtaking them. A difference of opinion prevailed respecting the path of duty. The Captain, officers, and seamen, with some of the Missionaries, inclined to a contest, if by such means there was a probability of preserving the ship and liberty; Mr. Howe and the rest differed; they considered that property and even liberty were too dearly purchased at the expense of human blood. The men of war, however, carried it; and the guns were got ready for action. While thus preparing the instruments of death, however, they were not unmindful of other means of protection. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, with the enemy still astern, they assembled for prayer. The means employed to accelerate their progress happily succeeded; and the adver-

sary could not overtake them. Hope and fear alternately prevailed, as they clustered on the Duff's quarter-deck, and cast their anxious looks towards their pursuer. About three o'clock in the afternoon, however, to their unspeakable joy, she abandoned the chase, and left them in peace and comfort to prosecute their voyage. When the enemy drew off, not a moment was lost in assembling the company to present public thanks to the great Ruler of earth, ocean, and the hearts of men, for this great deliverance.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CAPTURE OF THE DUFF BY THE FRENCH PRIVATEER, LE GRAND BUONAPARTE.

Security amid Danger—Le Grand Buonaparte—Dreadful Surprise—Shots fired—Order for the Passengers—Removal to Le Grand Buonaparte—Female Courage and Devotion—Robson and Carbonelle—Turner and the Ladies—Conduct of the Prize-master—Turner and the Governor—Scenes on Shore.

Nothing of importance further occurred till the 19th of February, a day much to be remembered in the annals of Missions, a day which eclipsed the joy of multitudes in the British empire, and cast a deep gloom over the face of a cause which transcends every other, and with which are bound up the hopes of all the nations of the earth—the cause of Missions. On the preceding day all was joy and gladsome expectation. At five o'clock in the afternoon the long looked-for territory appeared in view; and the hearts of the Missionaries leaped within them at the thought, that they were so soon to tread the beach of Rio Janeiro. With the eagerness natural to men so circumstanced, some even began to consider in what order the company were to go on shore. On the morning of this fatal day the air was pleasant, the wind was gentle, and the sacred bark was within sight of Cape Frio, with cables bent ready to anchor in the harbour of Rio Janeiro. No danger was apprehended, for none was seen; but the instruments of their calamity were at hand, and a scene of the most heartrending description drew rapidly on.

Early in the morning, they discovered a strange sail astern, close to the shore, which seemed to ride at anchor as if becalmed. This was Le Grand Buonaparte privateer. They afterwards saw her under weigh, and believed her to be bound for the same port. On the sight of this vessel danger never once entered the minds of the people of the Duff; all

suspicion was allayed. They repeatedly viewed her with their glasses, but she was very low, and they could not perceive her hull. Different opinions were entertained relative to her force; but it was generally supposed that she was the Porpus, the ship which was to convey Governor King to New South Wales, which had been left behind in England, as when the convoy sailed she had not arrived in Portsmouth. The Duff had all her sails set as well as Le Grand Buonaparte, but from the prevalence of almost a dead calm she made little progress. The ocean was at this moment a lovely image of the security and tranquillity which reigned in the Missionary ship. Her people were busy as in days past. Some were occupied in preparing to go on shore; others were employed in writing letters to be sent with the first conveyance to England; and all bosoms were big with expectations of the approaching felicity. Worship was conducted on deck as usual, and Mr. P. Levesque preached. The evening was pleasant; the moon walking in her brightness was reflected in the silver waves; most of the company were upon deck enjoying the sweets of twilight shade, meditating or talking of the past, and anticipating the future. They beheld their adversary at a distance, but feared no evil. After supper, the Captain, Mr. Smith, Mr. Howell, and others retired, or were retiring to rest, when a sudden squall of wind and rain coming on, the remainder likewise withdrew between ten and eleven o'clock.

At this most unsuspecting season, the report of a gun was heard from this strange vessel. The women were naturally alarmed at such a circumstance, while the Captain, seamen, and most of the Missionaries, estimating their danger by their feeling of security, could not believe that she was an enemy. At the worst they supposed she might be a Portuguese, and if so, all was well. Captain Robson ordered the ship to be laid-to, and then came down to the women between decks, exhorting them to be of good courage, and asserting his confidence that she was a friend. As it rained hard, Mr. Gregory, the most active and observant of all the Missionaries, seized his great-coat and hastened on deck to satisfy himself of the real facts of the case. The Duff not

bringing to so quickly as Le Grand Buonaparte wished, the latter fired another shot, which Mr. Gregory perceived, as he stood on the quarter-deck, to pass by the larboard quarter of the Duff; and a third gun flashed, but did not go off. This might have set at rest the question of friendship. The squall catching her before the Duff felt it, she was soon abreast of the latter, and hailed her in English,—"What ship?—Whence come?—Whither bound?" The circumstance of being hailed in English revived their hopes and confirmed their first impressions. Captain Robson replied to the questions, which was followed by an authoritative command to send his boat directly alongside. The boats of the Duff had been fresh caulked and painted, and fully prepared for going ashore at Rio Janeiro. The jolly boat was now hoisted over the side, when Mr. Smith, chief mate, with four seamen, went into her, with the ship's papers. This was an anxious moment. When the boat reached the unknown vessel, Mr. Gregory, with most of the Missionaries, stood leaning over the side waiting her return, and desirous to learn the true nature of their condition: but meantime the dread command was heard,—"Send all the passengers on board." Hope, with most, expired in its echo; although some entertained a faint expectation that it might prove otherwise. But the arrival of a boat alongside the Duff, without either Mr. Smith or the seamen, was deemed a bad omen; yet they derived comfort again from the circumstance, that all the boat's crew spoke good English. To the question, "What ship?" they answered, "The Spitfire, come from the coast of Ireland." These men passed for Americans, but it was believed that half of them were Englishmen, who, having run the full career of crime, had at last taken to the congenial employment of rapine and murder. The trembling females were still encouraged to hope that all would soon be well, from hearing nothing but English voices addressing their Captain. But the dear delusion instantly perished in the order that every man must leave the Duff, enter the boat, and go on board the unknown vessel. In obedience to this cruel command, Mr. Gregory and others went below, to prepare themselves for separation

from their wives and children. In the mean time they saw some ill-looking fellows take possession of the ship, and whatever property they could lay their hands upon. Who can describe the horrors of this season? The scene is thus depicted by Mr. Gregory:—

"I shifted myself, putting on a clean shirt, and then gave my watch to my wife. When at the sight of so very disagreeable persons, armed with cutlasses and pistols, as entered between decks to separate us, she began to express her fear of what would become of her dear little ones, I felt my mind particularly more composed than ever I could have supposed it would have been in so trying a moment. I endeavoured to dispel her fears, and to encourage her by remarking, that this providence evidently was the Lord's will, and she, with me, would see that it was amongst the '*all* things which would work together for our good;' that I had no doubts of our meeting again; that it was our duty to submit to Him 'who doeth all things well,' to 'be still and know that he was God, and fear not, for we were yet in his hands, who cared for us.' My wife now resumed her courage, and dried up every tear, and we bade farewell to each other; after which I proceeded to enter the boat, without having anything to shift myself, or sixpence in my pocket, or stockings, as through the sudden surprise my wife could not find a pair, so that I was compelled to go without them.

"I now entered the boat, in which were most of the unmarried brethren, Mr. Howell, and some of the seamen. When the boat had left the ship, on surveying the company I found myself to be the only married man amongst them, a circumstance which gave me some concern, as I entertained a thought that it might be their method to allow the married men to continue with their families on board the Duff, and considered myself as an exception from the general rule. But we were soon alongside of this prison ship, the sight of which was far from appearing pleasant to any of us. We went on board, and being guarded aft upon the quarter-deck, where sentinels were placed over us, the number of strange and disagreeable persons whom we saw, armed with so many destructive weapons, was such, that we could not

but forcibly feel for our sudden change. Soon our Captain, seamen, and all the other brethren, were brought on board, excepting two boys, John Greathead and James Webster; William Howell having come with his father along with us; and although his father pleaded hard for permission for the lad to stay with him, it was not granted, and he was sent back on board the Duff, to join the other lads. It was also requested by Captain Robson, that the married men might be permitted to remain with their families, but this was positively denied. After some pleading, Dr. Turner was permitted to return to the women, in case of the indisposition of any of them. Captain Carbonelle, the commander of the French ship, gave Mr. Smith also permission to return in the boat, that he might procure some clothes. But although he made the attempt, he was compelled to leave the cabin without getting any, being driven with a cutlass upon deck. On his return, we learned that he had been between decks, to take his leave of the women, and found them standing at the cabin door, suspicious that both their persons and apparel were in imminent danger. They immediately surrounded him, when he exhorted them to take courage; and when he parted from them, few tears fell from any eye, as they appeared to be wonderfully supported, considering their situation."*

The French prize-captain had stationed a sentinel at the hatchway, with a drawn sword, to prevent any one from going below, where the ladies were—a circumstance which, while highly honourable to the commander, yielded unutterable satisfaction to their captive husbands. Mr. Smith, before returning from the Duff, earnestly urged the sentinel to discharge his duty with vigilant fidelity.

The return of Dr. Turner to the Duff was a signal mercy to the wives and children of the Missionaries. He was to them not simply a medical adviser, but religious comforter, and moral protector. His appearance among them again inspired general gladness. The heroism by which female piety has so frequently and so nobly been distinguished,

* Journal, p. 21—23.

was beautifully displayed on the present occasion. Let Dr. Turner himself narrate the occurrence:—"This morning we were under some doubts whether we should have our public family prayer, or whether it would be more prudent for each individual to pray in secret. It was the unanimous opinion that we ought not to omit this incumbent duty, though some thought, we had better request permission from the captain; but as our only interpreter was a Spaniard, who spoke very bad English, we apprehended it would be impossible to make them comprehend our meaning; we, therefore, determined to have prayers without saying anything to them about it; and if they should detect us at this exercise, and bid us desist, it would then be full time for us to give over; but till that period, it was our indispensable duty."

The French officers made no attempt to suppress the exercises of devotion; they rather seemed awed, and took care to prevent their being disturbed on such occasions. In this matter Dr. Turner and the sisterhood appear to great advantage as compared with Captain Robson and the Missionaries on board the privateer. It is clear that Mr. Robson, although a trustworthy and devout man, was wholly unequal to the critical situation in which Providence had placed him. He wanted energy, and moral power, and personal authority: he was not one of "the nobles of nature." Imbecility marked most of his movements. Investigation of the Missionary Journals shows Carbonelle to have been at heart a man who, in the hands of an able, and dexterous, and dignified captain, might have been moulded to any reasonable purpose. Captain Robson, indeed, had not been accustomed to command, and authority sat awkwardly upon him. His habits, make of mind, and cast of character, all tended to disqualify him for the arduous work of this perilous season. It is clear from what Carbonelle said, on hearing the instructions of the Directors to Captain Robson, and learning the true character of the expedition, that he might have been dealt with most successfully; and, with respect to his officers and men, they would, as a matter of course, have followed their leader, notwithstanding Carbonelle's cheap humanity and idle pretences to the contrary.

There is a power even in heathen virtue, against which few men are altogether proof, but Christian piety, clothed in the garment of meek decision and real discretion, is altogether irresistible. The Frenchmen were subdued by female piety, and actually constrained to yield homage to the Christian sabbath. Dr. Turner's testimony is the following :—

"It appeared as if Satan had instigated them to a work which would prevent us from observing our Sabbath in the way to which we had both been accustomed and earnestly desired. They began to fill some empty water casks with salt water for the better balancing of the ship. But observing there was some difference with respect to our dress, in its being neater and cleaner than on other days, and perceiving the females not engaged as usual, in sewing or cooking, for we cooked the Sunday's provision on the Saturday, and as they had before beheld us at our religious exercise while in the fore part of the ship, they were led to suppose that it was some religious day, and immediately asked if it was our Sabbath. When they were answered in the affirmative, about ten o'clock they gave up their work in the hold, and left us in quietness to prosecute our religious duties. When we saw this, we could not but admire the power of restraining grace, that, even where it does not convert, can make all men subservient to its sovereign influence. In our worship this day, we introduced singing, which we had not done before; this was rather a novelty to the French; but, though it appeared to rivet their attention, it did not excite the least ridicule, in so far as we could discover. We spent both parts of the day in reading the word of God, in prayer, and in praise; and we trust the Divine presence was evidently amongst us, and have reason to bless his holy name for that grace which enabled us to persevere in the good work of the Lord with boldness, in the presence of his and our enemies."

Further acknowledgments are yet due to the French officers who now ruled the Duff. From the time of the capture till she arrived in the harbour of Monte Video, on all occasions they manifested the utmost decorum in their conduct

towards the wives of the Missionaries, and the most profound respect for Dr. Turner. Nay, such was the attention of these gallant men, that when any of the live stock was killed, the captives were always permitted to have the first choice before themselves or the seamen; and on arriving in the harbour they were immediately supplied with apples, pears, peaches, figs, and melons, and whatever else could be procured for their refreshment and comfort. The prize-master, M. Riviere, was in all respects a gentleman. He had been commander of a squadron, but for some cause had been suspended. This officer's conduct was a refutation of Burke's assertion, that in France "the age of chivalry was gone." His entire deportment towards his female captives was at once delicate and noble. Everything in the ship was at their service, and he came down daily to see that their table was well supplied. He made much of the children, and gave them every possible indulgence. In short, as Mr. Gregory attests, "the conduct of the French officers towards the women and children was such as scarcely to have been excelled by the most humane friend." The crew, however, were men of another stamp; and it became necessary to adopt protective measures both for person and property. Of these Dr. Turner's account is the following:—"As night approached, we began to deem it absolutely necessary, that some should keep watch till the return of light, so as to give the alarm, if the seamen should attempt to come below; and our night watches were regulated in the following manner, which continued unaltered until the joining together of the separated partners; viz., that two or three of the females should sit up till twelve o'clock, afterwards I, and occasionally others, should watch till four in the morning, when the remainder should get up, and continue watching until the usual time of rising." During these watches they always burned candles, which were supplied from the cabin; and agreed that in the day no one female should go upon deck by herself, nor yet altogether leave their apartments below.

On March the 3d, being Sunday, a king's boat came off from Monte Video, to convey Dr. Turner ashore to the Governor, to whose house he was attended by a soldier.

He was met by a fine looking man, who accosted him in very good English, and,—without observing those *etiquettes* of politeness, customary in England, of asking him in and requesting him to be seated,—continued to converse with him chiefly upon the object of their voyage to the South Seas, the number of their company, the parties who sent them out, the state of politics in England at the time of leaving, and inquired whether he had any English newspapers on board. On receiving answers to all his questions, he told the Doctor that he had done with him. Up to this moment the Doctor thought him an officer of the Governor's household who was to act as interpreter, but the dismissal convinced him it must be the Governor himself. Dr. Turner, therefore, in turn began to interrogate his excellency respecting the provision made for him, and the women and children as prisoners, and to whom they were to apply for it. The Governor replied that the only thing he had to do with, was permission to come on shore, which had been already granted, but with regard to support they were to receive that from the French.

The French Captain, following up this permission, in the afternoon informed Dr. Turner, that he was going on shore to provide a house for the residence of the females and their families, and that if the Doctor chose he might accompany him. The Doctor's religious scruples gave way to considerations of humanity, and he accompanied the Captain. They went to the house of the French agent, and soon after set off in his coach and four, accompanied by the French Captain, Spanish and French agents, an American Captain, and an officer of the same country, belonging to the Republican French frigate. They went to a house, belonging to the French agent, about a mile from town. The house pleased, and it was agreed that they should have it; on returning, it was suggested that, from its retired situation, they might be in danger of being attacked, plundered, or murdered by the natives. It was, therefore, given up, and one in town searched out and agreed upon. About seven o'clock the Doctor returned to the Duff, and found the females uneasy from his lengthened absence; but they were

soon relieved by the thoughts of a land residence and separation from their present ungodly neighbours. They were further amused by the description of his land adventure, of the horses' harness, and the livery of the postilions, which, to one who had been accustomed to see the splendid equipages that roll through the streets and parks of London, were abundantly ludicrous, and amounted to a burlesque on European grandeur. The coach was not despicable; but the harness of the horses was little better than the harness of the donkeys of the sand carts of the English metropolis; and the coat of the postillion was that of a British soldier, which had been got out of the convict ship, the Lady Shore. We must now return to Le Grand Buonaparte, and inquire into the condition of the captives.

CHAPTER V.

TREATMENT OF THE MALE PRISONERS ON BOARD THE PRIVATEER.

Condition on Board—Affecting Discovery—Bad Water—Suffocation—Plunder—Prevention of Worship—Food of the Prisoners—Friendly Feelings—A Prize—Prisoners put in Irons—Dreadful Declaration—First Sabbath—Another Prize—Levesque separated—Arrival at Monte Video—A third Prize—Slavery—Gregory in the Slaver—Horrid Scenes—Condition of Parties—End of the Cruise.

The prisoners all remained on the quarter-deck of the Buonaparte, vainly hoping that they might be permitted to enjoy the privilege of the air the whole night, for about two or three o'clock in the morning they received orders to go below. This command was heard with deep regret—regret which was embittered by the discovery that, with the exception of Captain Robson and Mr. Smith, they were to be crammed together between decks, where the height was scarcely sufficient to allow them to sit upright, one over the other, under filthy hammocks, in a state of suffocation for want of air; into this foul receptacle, however, they were compelled to enter at the point of the sword which was held to their backs, while those who had knives were forced to surrender them. In this doleful situation they remained till the morning, which, from the pestilential state of the atmosphere, it was dreaded some would not survive to see. How natural is the following exclamation of Mr. Gregory!—"Oh! with what unspeakable pleasure, at six o'clock, did we receive the order to come on deck! But in what language shall I convey an idea of the pleasurable sensation which I felt, at receiving the benefit of the salubrious air! I am at a loss for a comparison to describe fully the state of my feelings. It was like a powerful stream of life, flowing rapidly through my nostrils into every vein."

On emerging from this den of death, the eyes of the poor captives flashed around to descry the Duff; and men of sensibility may conceive of the poignancy of their grief, when they beheld her steering in an opposite direction, and gradually disappearing in the distant horizon. That grief was rendered still more profound by the agonizing intimation of the French Captain, that the Duff could not be ransomed, but would be carried to Rio de la Plata, to the Spanish port of Monte Video, South America, and that the privateer had come out upon a three months cruize, and could not return to port till the expiration of that period, or till he had captured several good prizes. Thus for the first time they ascertained the true state of the case, and learned that the ship was not the *Spitfire*, as the ruffian seamen had asserted, but Le Grand Buonaparte, mounting twenty-two nine-pounders, and manned by no fewer than two hundred men, Captain Carbonelle, commander. Carbonelle was a man of intelligence and humanity; he abounded not merely in good words and fair speeches; he was upon the whole generous and humane; he was also undoubtedly signalized by a large portion of that spirit of chivalry, for which his great country has been so long, so largely, and so justly renowned. When the instructions of the Directors to Captain Robson were read to him, he seemed to be sorry that he had been the instrument of so much calamity. He assured them, that "if he had known who they were, and in what they were engaged, he would sooner have given £500 out of his own pocket than have met them; but that now the laws of his country, his officers, and men compelled him to act as he did." He also assured them, to their inexpressible satisfaction, that "the women and children should be well treated, as the officers whom he had put on board were men of character, who would protect both them and theirs—an assertion which the event amply verified; that he was sorry he had separated their husbands from them, which he would not have done, if he had known as much of them as he now did; but that he would send some in each prize that he should take after the Duff." Notwithstanding this soothing assur-

ance their misery was but slightly mitigated, as will fully appear from the touching revelation of Mr. Gregory:—

"Our situation was extremely uncomfortable; we now knew the worth of water by the painful experience of the want of it. Such as in England we should have refused to wash our hands with, was now valuable in this hot climate to quench our thirst, the allowance being but a scanty quart in twenty-four hours, while we were nearly suffocated during the night, being so closely confined together as scarcely to have room to move; the boards were very irregular on which we slept, some even two inches above the rest. The French sailors, in passing to and from their hammocks every watch, trod over us, and the vermin from the hammocks of their men, dropped upon those under them, while the sentinels with swords and pistols stood on guard; who, when they passed to and from the lantern, used to put the points of their swords between us to feel for room where they might put their feet. This situation, in which we continued always for twelve hours, added to the distressful state of our minds, would suffer us to enjoy but little rest; yet if any, through excessive fatigue, tasted the sweets of repose, it was generally attended by the loss of their little property in clothes, which the extreme heat had compelled them to take off. By means of these hardened wretches some of the brethren frequently in a morning were without a hat, a handkerchief, or some other article of dress. Those who had time or recollection on the night of capture, had brought a small bundle of clothes with them, lost either a part or the whole, on account of the covetous disposition of the sailors. Even before we got on board, while the boat was alongside, some of these poor unhappy men stood over the side with a line and hook to draw up the bundles into the ship. The short time, and the avaricious temper of the French sailors, who snatched at everything within their reach, would suffer but little property to come out of the Duff, and every means was employed by them to obtain it. I, for mine own part, never stripped off any of my clothes the whole time that I was on board, except my hat and coat,

which I used to double up and sit upon during the night, so that having nothing but what I wore, from this precaution I lost nothing. My mind being penetrated with a deep sense of the dreadful effects of sin, and destructive war,—one of its fatal consequences,—I could not but be astonished in some degree, that men should be so hardened by it, that after they had taken our persons and property, they should still strive to plunder the plundered, and rob the destitute. However, it may be mentioned to the honour of Captain Carbonelle, that this took place without his knowledge or permission.

"Several of us having but one shirt each, were obliged to go without linen while we washed it, that we might to the utmost of our power preserve ourselves from dirt and vermin, a precaution absolutely necessary in this distressed situation. Soon after we had lost sight of the Duff, darkness gradually overspread our minds, for the first few days of our captivity. The third day especially was, amongst the married brethren, a day of general mourning; sorrow filled our hearts; but amidst all our sorrow, there was a secret pleasure in the thought that the Lord had neither shut up our souls, nor his gracious ear from our supplications; and we could not but believe, that it was a token for good, for, surely, God is good to Israel. It may here be observed, that the liberty of public worship was denied us; it was performed the next morning only, as they appeared great enemies to revelation in general, especially a person who interrupted us, while we were engaged in religious duties, and appeared the most hostile to our worship. He was one of the seamen, and was either an Englishman or an American. The reason which was privately assigned to our Captain by Captain Carbonelle for this prohibition, was 'that there were under his command men, whose sentiments in regard to religion were exceedingly different from each other, so that he was afraid if he permitted any, much confusion might ensue.' The only public service, therefore, from that day, was asking a blessing over our provision, which we regularly did with our hats off. This seemed, in general, to attract much attention, as we were sometimes surrounded.

But surely a tribute of praise cannot be omitted to Him, who, to our astonishment, preserved our health in the midst of this trial."

The bill of fare and the mode of participation were as follows: for breakfast, they had biscuit and butter, half a pint of water, and about a glassful of brandy; for dinner, they had a shocking mess,—salted pork in a tub with vinegar, the same measure of brandy as before, and about double the quantity of water: a single knife was allowed to twelve of them, and removed the moment its work was performed. The hour of five brought their swinish supper, which consisted of either horse or French beans or pease, boiled in water, with broken biscuit, appearing nearly as thick as mud. This was served in their tub with the same allowance of water and spirits as in the morning. For a spoon they used a chip of wood; a cocoa-nut shell supplied the place of a tumbler; and they sipped their brandy with a spoon till it was lost. Thus did the poor sufferers eat the bread and drink the water of affliction; and at the hour of six o'clock, like beasts of burden driven from the field to the fold, they were ordered below. However, an exception was made of Captain Robson, Mr. Smith, chief mate, and Mr. Howell, who sat at the table of Carbonelle. Nor was the Captain the only person in this floating den of thieves, who was not wholly divested of humanity. The first Lieutenant likewise soon displayed strong sympathy with his virtuous captives; he ordered a sail to be spread below for them to sleep on during the night, and made the sailors shift their hammocks on one side to make their situation more airy, easy, and comfortable. Nor must poor George, the black servant, be forgotten, for he exhibited no small attention to their wants and wishes, and led them often to think of the Ethiopian who manifested kindness to Jeremiah, and did much to soothe the sorrow and save the life of the weeping prophet, while immured in the dungeon of a cruel despotism.

During the night of the 21st, Le Grand Buonaparte took a Portuguese brig, laden with salt. When the Captain of this prize was brought on board, he supposed Car-

bonelle to be an Englishman, as the linguist addressed him in good English. The honest Captain was thus inspired with some degree of confidence, and informed the interpreter, that there was a French privateer cruizing off this coast, little thinking that he was on her deck and her prisoner. On being asked how he had ascertained this fact, he replied, that he had spoken with a Portuguese frigate which was on the out-look for her. He was next interrogated respecting the latitude and longitude in which he had left the frigate, and the answer serving to show that Le Buonaparte was in no immediate danger from her, Carbonelle next inquired of the Captain, if he had got many clothes on board; to this the unsuspecting man ingenuously answered, "Yes." "Well," said Carbonelle, "you return in the boat and bring them aboard this ship, for I am a Frenchman." The poor captive now discovered his situation. He had hitherto displayed courage and firmness, but on this his countenance became in a moment stamped with the deepest melancholy; his whole visage indicated the anguish of his heart, while he bewailed his misfortune, averring, that his all on earth consisted of his vessel and cargo. Was this industrious mariner a fond and faithful husband, an affectionate and indulgent father? Did he see across the ocean, at this dark and dreadful hour, his household slumbering in peaceful security, to awake on the morrow in a state of undeveloped ruin?

On the following day, when the prisoners of the brig were brought on board, they, together with the seamen of the Duff, were put in irons, as the number of the prisoners was now so augmented as to excite fearful apprehensions on the part of the French. This was a circumstance which, in a hot climate, exceedingly augmented their distress; and it deeply grieved the Missionaries to behold this addition to the calamity of their mariners. The intelligence respecting the Brazil frigate clearly alarmed Carbonelle, who uttered the following emphatic words in regard to the point of personal capture: "If I were in Europe, and met an English ship of superior force, when I was fully satisfied of it, I would strike, and go prisoner to England; and if in Europe I fell in with a Portuguese, and was overpowered, I would

strike and go prisoner to Portugal; but if in these seas I am met by this frigate, I will never surrender myself nor the Buonaparte, as the remainder of my life might be spent in a miserable exile on the inhospitable coast of Brazil, and I should never see again my native shore; so that the moment I find myself overpowered, I will, with a pistol, terminate my existence."

There is something very affecting in the Missionaries' narrative of the manner in which the first sabbath was spent by them in this "Ghenna of the waters," this "sea Sodom." Nothing on board existed to remind immortal man either of the world's creation, or the resurrection of the Son of God. They observed neither the seventh nor the first day of the week, nor the tenth, agreeably to the new arrangement of time which took place in France after the Revolution. The free spirit, however, cannot be imprisoned; and wherever the Spirit of God has enkindled in the human bosom the fires of devotion, the combined powers of earth and hell cannot repress the fervours of religion. The following paragraph of Mr. Gregory illustrates this great principle in a manner which will be fully appreciated by every Christian heart:—

"We agreed to assemble together in the long-boat on the gunwale, and in the fore channel, in parties of two and three,—a measure which was carried into execution; there the word of God was read, social prayers presented, and, to the delightful experience of all, it was found to be good thus to wait upon the Lord. It pleased the Lord to pour out a spirit of prayer on the Missionaries in general, I believe, this day, which blessing I was inclined to view as a token of future good. We read several portions of sacred writ, as we sat leaning over the ship's side, which were exactly suited to our state, and were enabled to hope in God, and go alternately to his throne, praying for the fulfilment of his promises in our own experience. We found this day a very humbling one, and before night, blessed the Lord for what we felt in our own souls, resolved in his strength to plead every day in like manner, as we found his presence and word sweeter than honey, or the honeycomb, and were

animated with hope that our Redeemer would speedily appear in our behalf. Yes! the peculiar opportunities which we enjoyed while aboard Le Grand Buonaparte, converted the place, dismal enough in other respects, into a Bethel, yea, a sanctuary, a *sanctum sanctorum*, into which the poor thoughtless sinners who were around us could not enter, nor taste the fruits of our worship, flowing from a delightful communion with Jesus in the spirit of prayer."

The 26th brought calamity upon another victim of these maritime robbers: after a chase of several hours, they captured a Portuguese brig, a Lisbon packet, near the entrance into the harbour of Rio Janeiro. But her dexterous captain, before he was overtaken, sent all his passengers, letters, and money on shore in the long boat, which got safe to land. Le Buonaparte mingled falsehood with violence, for she chased under English colours for the purpose of deception; but the moment she fired a shot, a man at the mast-head stood ready to strike the English and hoist the French flag. Yet, after the gun was fired, the English flag continued flying till the packet was captured. One of the Missionaries, Mr. P. Levesque, was put on board the prize to act as French interpreter, when she sailed direct for Monte Video, and was soon out of sight of the Buonaparte. On board the vessel, Mr. Levesque received the utmost kindness from the captain, who told his captive, that everything which the vessel afforded was at his service, and gave him his choice of four sleeping berths in the cabin, permitting him also to sit at his table. Mr. Levesque had not shifted himself since leaving the Duff, a period of ten days, and therefore had in some degree become contaminated with dirt and vermin. He retired for that purpose, supposing he had a shirt, but found he had not; he therefore put on his coat again, and went with his shirt in his hand upon deck to wash it. The captain observed this, and refused to allow it, giving him one of his own, with whatever else was necessary to cleanliness. In hours of sadness, when the officers beheld his depression, they would frequently pat him on the back, saying, "Courage, Monsieur Levesque, courage," doing all in their power to make him comfortable.

Early in the morning of March the 9th, they were in Rio de la Plata, but saw land on neither side. On sounding, they found only three and a half fathoms of water, which was thick and muddy. The captain was filled with alarm, not knowing where he was, nor what to do. Mr. Levesque hastened to the mast-head, and saw the rocks and breakers on the English Bank. On his giving the alarm, the captain ran aloft, saw, and knew his bearing; the vessel was immediately put about, kept away, and went round the Bank; and on Monday, the 11th, she entered the harbour of Monte Video. This day brought great joy to the hearts of Dr. Turner and all the Missionary families. From the officer of the Custom-house, Mr. Levesque learned that the Duff had arrived, and shortly after the prize that carried him ran close and passed her. All the females, with Dr. Turner, happened at that moment to be on deck; and seeing Levesque, their hearts leaped within them as they exchanged mutual salutations. Dr. Turner came speedily on board with a French officer, when Levesque obtained permission to quit the brig and go to the Duff. On ascending the hapless vessel, a scene occurred which must be given in his own words, which are full of truth and nature:—"On entering her, when surrounded, I had enough to do to overcome my feelings, while tears gushed from every eye, and the inquiry was,—*What is become of my husband—when and where did you leave him?* The children also clung to me with affecting inquiries about their fathers. I gave them every possible information, told them all were well, used every argument to encourage them, but reserved to myself that information which, in my opinion, had a tendency to increase their unhappiness."

To return to Le Grand Buonaparte, among the prisoners who were brought on board from the Lisbon packet, was an aged Roman Catholic priest, towards whom the French sailors manifested an unceasing and utter abhorrence; they even threatened to hang him up at the yard-arm—a threat, however, which the scorpions did not put into execution.

On the 1st of March, before the break of day, Le Grand Buonaparte took another Portuguese prize from the Cape

of Good Hope, and bound for Rio Janeiro, with one hundred and eighty negro slaves on board as her cargo. When the French were about to board her, such papers as had a tendency to accuse her were thrown overboard, but picked up by the boat of the Buonaparte, and dried in the oven so as to be rendered legible, to the glowing satisfaction of the French officers. While Mr. Gregory, with the prize-master, were alongside the prize, the sea ran rather high for so small a boat, and the captive Portuguese captain, a stout old man, fell overboard with his head foremost into the sea, but Mr. Gregory instantly seized hold of one of his legs, and he was taken up without receiving any injury. The Missionary thus moralises, in the following passage, on the adverse fortunes of this monstrous trafficker in human flesh: —"I could not but feel for this poor man, who had lost his ship and money, at seeing him compelled to enter the boat, while a pistol was held to his breast; indeed, it was with the strongest reluctance that he quitted the vessel. His employment in the traffic of human beings was surely no honour to him. I thought it might have been thus with those whom he had held as his slaves; and that, probably, he had compelled them to quit their native soil with as much violence as he was now constrained to feel, to his own woful experience."

When Mr. Gregory ascended the slave vessel, he beheld human nature in a new aspect. The deck was covered with the wretched Africans—men, women, and children, in a state of almost utter nudity. The scurvy raged among them to such a degree, that there were very few who were not covered with blotches, from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head. The hateful vessel was so crowded, that it was with difficulty a person could pass along the deck, and in a condition so leaky, that when the Missionary ascended they were working the pumps, and the deck was swamped with water. He exchanged Le Grand Buonaparte for the slaver, but in no respect did he thereby improve his condition. Indeed that condition was altogether worse. Severed from his brethren, breathing the horrid atmosphere of slavery, surrounded with hideous wretched-

ness, placed in the midst of infection from the living, the dying and the dead, his chief earthly support was the hope of once more seeing his family. The Frenchmen found that there was too little water aboard for such a multitude, scarcely any provisions, no spirits or wine, except a small case of *liqueurs*, which they themselves had brought.

Mr. Gregory, however, obtained favour in the sight of the French captain and officers, who behaved towards him at once with kindness and respect. The slave brig had a round house aft, with four bed places, one of which was given to him, with four new mats to sleep upon, and the flag of the ship by way of coverlet. In doing this, the captain asserted that "these were the best he had; and that if he had had better, Mr. Gregory should have had it." He also sat at the table of the Captain, who seemed to rejoice when the Missionary rejoiced, and to be sorrowful when he sorrowed. He even refused to take refreshment unless when the Christian captive partook with him, and strained every effort to make him comfortable. Still he was on every side entrenched amid the elements of misery. Every thing connected with the negroes harrowed up his soul. Utter strangers to the very name of the living and true God, they supplied indisputable evidence, in their persons and manners, of their gross idolatry. The faces and frames of both male and female were marked with a variety of forms. In the faces of most of the females were cut the figures of the sun, moon, and stars, as also down their backs, in a great diversity of shapes; holes were also cut through their lips; and they bore other tokens of the cruel and detestable character of that superstition to which they had been addicted. The utmost apathy appeared to prevail among them. The only mark of affection that was noticed was at the moment of capture, when eight of the healthiest negro men were taken on board the privateer. A burst of lamentation then broke forth among the women, a portion of whom looked wistfully after the boat which carried them away, loudly wailing for their loss, till they were out of sight.

The third day of March was the second sabbath of cap-

tivity—a dreary day to the brethren! The women and children captives on board the Duff in the port of an enemy —the larger portion of the Missionaries, Captain Robson, and his seamen, the latter in chains, in a French privateer, amid a multitude of wolves prowling in a remote ocean in search of plunder—Mr. Levesque dodging about in the former prize of the captors—and Mr. Gregory in the slaver—all many leagues apart from each other, from friends, and from England. Oh! what a contrast to the happy hour of their designation in London, and to the season when, prior to embarkation, they sat down together around the table of the Lord in Surrey Chapel!

On the Monday following, the report of a strange sail resounded through the ship, a circumstance which alarmed the minds of the Frenchmen who navigated the slaver, especially when they saw her tack about, and give them chase. They supposed her to be the Portuguese frigate which was on the look-out for Le Buonaparte; and, knowing that it was impossible to escape by out-sailing her, considered themselves already within the grasp of certain captivity. They, therefore, coolly commenced their preparations by packing up their clothes and money, which they sewed up in belts fixed round their waists, in their trousers and other apparel. After dinner, however, the dreadful frigate, on drawing near, was discovered to be their own privateer, Le Buonaparte, which, satisfied with plunder, had relinquished her cruize, and was bound direct to Monte Video, to divide the spoil. This was a happy hour for Mr. Gregory; for Captain Robson, ascertaining that disease raged among the negroes, and that the ship on her arrival in port must perform quarantine, requested Carbonelle to take him back again to the Buonaparte, a favour which was promptly granted. March the 10th, the third Sunday of their captivity, brought them within the same latitude as Monte Video, and led to the expectation of soon entering the river Rio de la Plata, where lay the Duff with their exiled wives and children.

CHAPTER VI.

OCCURRENCES DURING THE RESIDENCE AT MONTE VIDEO.

Arrival at Monte Video—Spanish Mandate—Hopes of Redemption—Tender Visit—The happy Meeting—Cruel Restraints—Visit of Mr. Smith—Last Sabbath in the Duff—Robson's Letter—Answer of the Missionaries—Popish Exhibitions—Settlement on Shore—Surprising Generosity—Plague of Flies—Instances of noble Conduct—Religious Exercises—Splendid Display of Spanish Hospitality—Novel Baptism—Means of Removal—View from Monte Video—Assault on Dr. Turner and others.

On March the 12th, 1799, early in the morning, land appeared, and Le Grand Buonaparte entered Rio de la Plata. During the firing of guns and the mooring of the ship, a boat came off with the Spanish officers of inspection, accompanied by an English interpreter. From this gentleman they received at once the joyful intelligence, that the Duff was safely arrived, and all the women and children in perfect health although still aboard, and not ashore, as the Missionaries had supposed. The Spanish officer now delivered to Captain Carbonelle the astounding message, that "the Governor forbade him either to sell his prizes or to land his prisoners; and that he must leave this port at a set time, which would be granted, and then he must take with him both his prizes and prisoners." The reason of this change was involved in mystery; for when Le Buonaparte had quitted this port only six weeks previously, the French had been allowed to land prisoners, and sell prizes, and Carbonelle was upon terms of the most intimate friendship with the Governor. In the interval, however, and before the arrival of the Duff, a misunderstanding had taken place between some of the crew of the French frigate Republican, and the inhabitants of the port, when the proud Spaniards, before they knew anything of the Duff but that she was a prize, declared positively and peremptorily, that they

"would neither condemn her nor permit the prisoners to land." To the Missionaries this most unexpected circumstance was as consolatory, as to the privateers it was full of vexation and disappointment. It was hoped, that the latter, unable to sell the vessel, would now permit Captain Robson to redeem her by bills upon the Society, rather than run the risk of taking her to Europe—a hope which, although delusive, was for the time full of sweetness.

The eyes of the Missionaries were wistfully directed towards the Duff till the afternoon, when at length a boat put off from her, and proceeded towards Le Buonaparte, which on drawing near was found to contain Mr. Gregory's two children, Martha and John, with Mr. Jones's daughter, Mary, Mr. Levesque and some French officers. When the little prisoners ascended on the deck, not only the affectionate parents eagerly embraced them, but Captain Robson, all the Missionaries, and seamen, vied in their tender attentions to the dear innocents. Even the French officers were not uninterested spectators in this touching scene. Mr. Levesque confirmed the intelligence of the safety of the females and the kind treatment which they had received on the voyage to Monte Video. At the close of an hour the boat with its company returned to the Duff. Carbonelle had been ashore, and had without success attempted to mollify the governor. On returning to Le Buonaparte, he was surrounded by his officers, who appeared much mortified by the report, although the Missionaries could not ascertain its precise terms. The prisoners received no further satisfaction that night respecting their desired and anticipated removal to the Duff, and descended once more to their miserable hold; but as the ship was at anchor, and nearly half unrigged, they were not confined so closely as before. On the morrow, however, to the joy of many hearts, Carbonelle granted that all the married Missionaries should rejoin their families in the Duff; leave was likewise given to take a cook to dress their victuals after the fashion of their country, Carbonelle at the same time undertaking to supply money to meet all their wants. They went aboard in the midst of a heavy shower, so that they ascended the vessel

and were below decks, in the midst of their wives and children, before it was known that they were aboard. The emotions of this hour may be conceived, but they cannot be expressed. 'The grateful joy was universal! The entire group were interested, and interested alike. They had been separated by the cruelty of rapine and the sword of war, upwards of a thousand miles on the great deep, in situations quite unknown to each other, exposed to extreme hardships, tortured by the dread of manifold contingent perils—and now they are all united again! When composure was somewhat restored, they returned an acknowledgment of grateful praise to the God of all their mercies; and then took measures to promote the comfort of the single brethren who remained still in Le Grand Buonaparte. They were in want of knives to eat their food, and of some sort of vessels to contain their drink; and the majority had not even a shirt with which to shift themselves. Two or three knives, a razor, a few tin pots, and other small comforts were allowed to be sent to them by the hands of Dr. Turner. Captain Robson, his officers, and seamen, and the single Missionaries, were still detained in the privateer; but their misery was somewhat mitigated. They were not now confined as before; they had fresh meat and new bread every day; and although the Spanish governor had not yet permitted any one to go on shore, still the French officer did not prevent them from going in the boat in small parties, on condition that they should return in the evening—a privilege of which several daily availed themselves.

Meanwhile things in the Duff went on as smoothly as could be expected in a prison ship. Although the numbers were much increased by the reunion of all the families, there was no scarcity of provisions. The following was the bill of fare:—"good soft bread, fresh beef, three times more than they could eat; three bottles of brandy, or more, if wanted; vegetables of different sorts; about two shillings worth of milk in the morning; and fruits after dinner, apples, peaches, figs, melons; with cheese, tea, sugar, &c., when required." They also caught plenty of small but fine fish alongside the vessel. They enjoyed their morning and

evening worship in midships, without the slightest interruption, and obtained from the Spanish officers the honourable appellation of the *Lutheran Padre.*

Captain Robson was never again permitted even the cheap, safe, wretched satisfaction of entering his own vessel, although he had been encouraged to hope for this reasonable indulgence. Mr. Smith, the chief mate, however, was allowed to come one afternoon with some French officers, and when he entered the Duff received a most hearty welcome from all the company. Upon this occasion they all assembled in the cabin with the French, and partook of a liberal refreshment supplied by the officers on board. Mr. Smith could not conceal his feelings, which were strongly indicated by his countenance, on observing an officer clothed in his own apparel. After spending nearly two hours with mingled feelings of pain and pleasure, Mr. Smith was carried back to Le Grand Buonaparte. On the 17th, the fourth Sunday of their captivity, they agreed to hold their worship, as originally, on the Lord's day, once more on board of their captured ship. This they did between decks morning and afternoon. They also sang this day, which from the time of their capture, on board the privateer, they had hitherto omitted. Mr. Hill and Mr. Gregory preached for the last time in the Duff. The latter selected for his text the peculiarly appropriate words of the Psalmist, which were happily fulfilled in their experience; "He will regard the prayer of the destitute, and not despise their prayer. This shall be written for the generation to come; and the people which shall be created shall praise the Lord. For he hath looked down from the height of his sanctuary; from the heaven did the Lord behold the earth, to hear the groaning of the prisoner, to loose those that are appointed to die."

Captain Robson, still on board Le Grand Buonaparte, being encouraged to hope that the Duff, or some other vessel, would be restored to him for bills on the Society, wrote a letter to the Missionaries on board the Duff, requesting their answer. It was to this effect: "Not being permitted to see them, or to meet together, he wished to communicate the pleasure he felt, in hoping that Providence

would yet open a door, either by restoring their ship or providing another, in which he believed it was his duty to prosecute the Mission; and he also wished to know the sentiments of the body of the Missionaries, whether they, individually, each man believed it to be his duty also to go forward in their present reduced state, and wait for a supply in the South Seas." On the receipt of this communication, a meeting was held to deliberate upon its object, that the Captain might be guided in his designs. The Missionaries could not exactly agree respecting the propriety of proceeding on the Mission, unless some necessary part of their property could be restored, when it was deemed best that each should send his own answer. The general sentiment that prevailed upon the subject did honour to the brotherhood; it amounted to this, that, "Seeing the Lord had mingled so much mercy with their captivity, they could not desert the missionary work; and that, if Providence restored their ship, and they could only obtain a sufficient supply of necessaries, which were absolutely requisite, they were yet willing to go forward to the original place of their destination."

On March the 23d, between eight and nine in the morning, the women and children were permitted to land, but the Missionaries, with the exception of Dr. Turner, were peremptorily interdicted on account of their religion; yet it was understood that their husbands might visit them one or two at a time, though not permitted to reside on shore. Carbonelle, the Spanish agent, and other gentlemen, received them on landing, and treated them very handsomely. They were afterwards conducted to the house prepared for their reception; and carts were in readiness to take their luggage immediately after them. After the ladies and little ones had left the Duff, it being the day following Good Friday, a Popish exhibition took place, which may best be given in the terms of an eye-witness, Mr. Gregory:—"The three last days were kept as days of sorrow; all the ships in the harbour expressed it, by having the colours hoisted only half-mast high, as a token of mourning, and the yards crossed as much as possible, to make them resemble a crucifix, while apparent solemnity prevailed, both on shore and

in the harbour; but immediately on a signal, when the minute arrived, all being in waiting, the yards were squared, the colours hoisted wholly up, and the guns fired from almost every ship in the harbour, the Duff not excepted, while all the bells on shore were set a ringing, promiscuously, as fast as possible; while at the bowsprit, or yard-arm of the ships, was suspended an effigy of Judas, which they began to dip in the river, while one man to each acted with the greatest possible enthusiasm and ridiculous madness, beating upon the shoulders, dipping it, and then renewing his ridiculous conduct."

After the Popish festival was over, and dinner ended, Mr. Jones and Mr. Gregory obtained leave to go on shore to see how their families had got settled. It was soon discovered that the lodgings provided would not be comfortable, and a Spanish gentleman generously offered them a commodious dwelling some little distance in the country, which the captives went with him to look at, and were dazzled by the beauty of the region and the incredible fertility of the earth. It far exceeded all that they had heard or seen of the like nature. In the orchard and garden "thousands and tens of thousands of apples, peaches, nectarines, lay perishing under the trees, while they were so loaded that few can form any idea of the profusion; perhaps it is not equalled in the whole globe; it is impossible, however, that it should be excelled, as some trees appeared like a solid mass of fruit, large branches broken down to the earth unable to support their burden. A number of apple trees made a curious appearance, as they were loaded with fruit and bloom at the same time." The Spaniard on the spot renewed his offer, and pointing to the right and left, observed, that a small river in the valley, and a hill at a distance, were the boundaries of his land, and to the extremity of three miles it was at the service of Mr. Gregory and his friends, as long as they thought proper to reside in the country. The offer of this generous and noble-minded stranger was gladly embraced. Indeed, continuance in the house in which they then resided was out of the question. One circumstance connected with it taught the Missionaries

to sympathize in thought with the miseries of the ancient Egyptians. The scene is thus described by the sufferers :— "In respect to the flies in this house, they were a complete plague; I suppose, without any exaggeration, that even in Egypt, they could not have been in the same space more numerous, though they might be more general throughout the land. The floor, the walls, the table, and everything was covered. An apple, or peach, in one minute, could not be recognised as such, nor could we tell of what colour the table was. A cup of tea, to get it to the lip, must be swept nearly all the while we were drinking; and during the night, the sound which they emitted could be compared only to the noise of a heavy pouring rain."

A serious and unlooked for obstacle, however, stood in the way of removal. The governor interdicted it. The intercession of Captain Carbonelle was ineffectual. The petition had to go to the viceroy at Buenos Ayres for his approbation. This opposition and delay were the more harassing inasmuch as Mrs. Gregory and Mrs. Jones expected every hour an event, which rendered their immediate settlement a matter of the utmost moment. In this emergency the Spanish agent acted a noble part. Understanding the facts of the case, he came forward on their behalf, and told Carbonelle, that he would be surety for them; and would be responsible to the laws of his country, the governor, or viceroy. He next directed them how to proceed; and to convince them of his sincerity, engaged to send his own coach to convey them to the house which had been offered them, and also a cart for their luggage. On the following day, Mrs. Gregory was delivered of a son: and the Spanish agent, his lady and daughter, the owner of the house, Captain Carbonelle and another, in the forenoon, came down in a coach to see how they were settled in their new residence, not aware of the important event, at which they testified their great satisfaction. The Spanish ladies being admitted to Mrs. Gregory's apartment, exhibited peculiar tenderness; and though scarcely able to converse with her one word to be understood, by divers kind acts they verified the truth of the proverb, "Actions speak louder than words." Before

leaving, Mrs. Hill, acting as nurse, was constrained to gratify them by bringing the little boy from the bosom of his mother to the agent, to Captain Carbonelle and the rest, who welcomed him with every demonstration of joy; Carbonelle would retain the little captive some time in his arms, requesting permission to nurse him; and observing that the wine of the country was not very good, promised that some should be sent from Le Grand Buonaparte of superior quality. Thus they departed, promising speedily to visit her again. They did so, as did also other of the principal ladies and gentlemen of the town, and all showed much kindness.

The brethren now enjoyed a considerable share of each other's society, and the privilege of frequent social religious exercises. These were conducted sometimes in the orchard, sometimes under a cliff of a rock near the sea, which by nature was enclosed on every side except towards the sea, where to procure a shelter from the penetrating beams of the sun, which darted in that direction, a wall of rock stones had been built, which afforded a cool retreat for prayer and praise, and which realized the force of the Divine promise respecting "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." In this tabernacle of rock, after sermon, the death of the Lamb was commemorated, and his gracious presence enjoyed, although the vessels used upon the occasion were neither gold nor silver. It was indeed a favourite resort for social prayer; and many of the brethren, when they came on shore during the day from Le Buonaparte, were gathered together praying. A hill, a few miles distant from the town, was occasionally used for the same purpose, which the poor captives named pilgrim's hill. There, and at the rock, and in the orchard, the promise was fulfilled :—"Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in the Lord's name, there is he in the midst of them, and that to bless them."

The time drew on for the baptism of the infant captive, to which it was deemed respectful and proper to invite Carbonelle, whose whole conduct had been marked by so much kindness. He received the invitation with gratification, and promised attendance; and the afternoon of Sunday, April

14th, was fixed for the administration of the ordinance. The day was full of beauty. When the hour of worship arrived in the morning, Captain Robson, Mr. Smith, the brethren, and the rest went into the orchard, and the service commenced; Mr. Howell preached; and before the close, Mr. Gregory was unexpectedly called from among the trees. On going up to the house, to his amazement, he found at the door a coach and four, and a great number of horses, and not only Captain Carbonelle whom they expected,—but not till the afternoon,—but several other Captains, the Spanish agent, the owner of the premises, some Spanish ladies, and others, who had called at the house occupied by the captive females, with the coach, and brought up Mrs. Beatie and Mrs. Grieg with them, accompanied by a number of domestics. The Missionary was quite surprised to see such a multitude; a native had, indeed, been despatched on horseback a little before to apprize him, but the messenger was not fully understood, and it was further considered, that none would come till afternoon. Mr. Gregory took Carbonelle aside, and expressed his fear that the company being Catholics might not relish a Protestant service, and that something uncomfortable might arise, the more so as the laws of the land did not sanction the administration of the ordinance after the Protestant formula. The brave Captain replied, that he had already attended to that matter; that the present company were an exception to the bulk of the Spanish population, not fanatics; and had informed him when spoken to on the subject, "that they were, like him, for every man to enjoy liberty of conscience; that they could attend the worship with pleasure, if permitted; but that if, when they came to the house, their presence was not acceptable, they would during worship walk in the garden." Thus the first ground of alarm was removed. The next related to viands, with which to regale such a company, a difficulty which was as speedily and effectually overcome, when he saw the servants whom they had brought with them to attend, unload their horses, and bring their hampers into the house, laden with provisions from town, all ready dressed for the table,—a quantity so great that he

knew not how to dispose of it. The grateful Missionary thus describes it:—"All different kinds of meat, turkeys, ducks, pigeons, chickens, wild-fowls, tongues, pastry, and sweetmeats, &c., peculiar to the country; soups also were ready, servants being sent before to prepare them at the negroes' huts. They also brought bread and wines of all sorts, sundry sweetmeats for the children, coffee, coffee equipage, &c., sufficient to furnish the table of any nobleman in Europe, and which must have been collected at considerable trouble and expense. I could not but be astonished on beholding their attention, consideration, and liberality, for as they brought it in this manner ready dressed, with so many servants to attend, they gave us no additional trouble."

By the time that dinner was ended, a fresh number of horses had arrived, with other strangers, to witness the ceremony. When all was ready for the service, the gallant Captain Carbonelle was requested to make a general proclamation to men of all languages present, that, if they pleased, they were heartily welcome to remain to the service; and that such as did not would confer a favour by walking in the garden. Universal silence proclaimed concurrence in the first part of the arrangement. Mr. Gregory opened the service by a hymn from Dr. Watts, after which Mr. Howell engaged in prayer, and then explained the nature of the ordinance; Mr. Gregory himself then baptized his boy, naming him Ebenezer Gershom. This act was performed in the presence of Roman Catholics, Protestants, and infidels, men collected from different nations of the globe, France, Spain, England, Africa, North and South America. Mr. Gregory added a few words, containing his reasons for thus dedicating his child to God; he then gave out a hymn, after which Mr. Howell read and expounded the portions of Scripture from which the little captive had been named: "And she bare him a son, and he called his name Gershom; for he said, 'I have been a stranger in a strange land,'"—Exod. ii. 22. "Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it Ebenezer, saying, 'Hitherto hath the Lord helped us,'"—1 Sam. vii. 12. The service was then closed by prayer. The conduct

of the company was highly decorous; they expressed the liveliest satisfaction with all that had passed during the day, and at length departed exceedingly gratified. The brave and generous Carbonelle acted with his usual benignity and magnanimity. On Mrs. Gregory's opening a paper which he had given her with some sugar-plums for his sucking captive, Ebenezer Gershom, she found enclosed two gold pieces, as a present to the infant prisoner: this fact was not discovered till the captain and the company were gone. The single brethren did not return that evening on board Le Buonaparte, but staid, supped, and slept on the floor, with such accommodation as could be afforded.

During this time the utmost uncertainty rested upon the future prospects of the Missionaries: light, however, at length began to dawn. Le Buonaparte was ordered out; and it followed that the prisoners should either go on board of her, or of another vessel under the French government. At one time it was deemed probable that they might recover the Duff, and be enabled to prosecute their Mission. This pleasing vision, however, soon passed; Captain Robson received information from Carbonelle, that the Duff was sold, but that he might procure the Portuguese prize-packet in exchange for bills on the Society. In the event of Robson closing with this proposal, Carbonelle promised to furnish her with provisions and stores for one month, to put a French officer on board to take her out of the harbour under French colours, accompanied by Le Buonaparte, and when fairly out to remove the officer again to his own ship, and leave the Missionary company to themselves, to go whithersoever they might think proper; and if they should proceed to Rio Janeiro, he was willing to convoy them to the mouth of the harbour. Captain Robson immediately convened the Missionaries, and held a consultation upon the proposition, which involved considerations respecting their future course. The result of their deliberations was, that the vessel should be purchased, that they should embark when called on in the ensuing week, proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence to the island of Otaheite, trusting that the brethren there had a competency of such things as were necessary.

It was, however, at the same time agreed, that, if it should appear to Captain Robson and others, when out at sea, that they could not, under existing circumstances, proceed to the Cape without danger, they should steer for Sierra Leone, and assist the brethren already settled there, or attempt to open new ground among the Africans, or wait till called to proceed to the South Seas. This noble resolution was not unanimously cherished or approved; but it would be unjust to the dissentients to question either the truth of their piety, or the integrity of their purpose. They had endured enough to break their spirits, and fill them with at least temporary discouragement; but, above all, they had been robbed and pillaged of everything that belonged to them, and thereby had become not only divested of their necessary temporal comforts, but of all the means and instruments essential to intercourse with the natives, and the establishment of Missions. While, therefore, we absolve the dissentients from all blame, and feel strongly inclined to commend their prudence, we are bound to award to the adhering parties the praise of exalted moral heroism, and of extraordinary devotion to the work of Missions.*

The generous purpose of the parties assenting, however, was speedily blasted. A Portuguese merchant, Marcos da Costa Guimrange, tendered ready cash for the packet, which was preferred to bills on the Missionary Society, and therefore she was sold to him. So far this was a gross breach of faith on the part of Carbonelle—a breach of the letter of his engagement, but not of its spirit, for he agreed with

* The following were the Missionaries who assented to the proposition:—

Rev. W. Howell, Superintendent.
John Beatie, wife, and child.
Clark Bentom.
Spence Broughton.
Thomas Fitzgibbons.
Rev. W. Gregory, wife, and four children.
George Grieg and wife.
John Guard.
Rev. John Hill and wife.
Robert Hughes and wife.
James Jones, wife, and two children.
John Jerrard.
Rev. P. Levesque and wife.
Daniel Miller.
James Mitchell.
Griffith Pary.
James Reid.
James Smith.
Joseph Smith.
William Loddy.
Samuel Turner.
William Walters.
Charles Wilson.
John Youl.

Marcos da Costa Guimrange to convey the Missionaries to Rio Janeiro, Captain Robson and his seamen, in return, undertaking to navigate the vessel—an arrangement which was satisfactory to all parties. By this means they would be borne to a friendly port, where they might be able to make a much better and more desirable arrangement than the purchase of the prize-packet.

On Wednesday, May the 1st, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Broughton, and Dr. Turner, went to survey the lofty mountain, Monte Video, from the summit of which they beheld a horizon without bounds, while the sight was transported from mountain to mountain, resting at intervals on the mighty ocean, which from that towering elevation can be traced to an immense extent. The prospect was full of sublimity. The imagination seemed to grasp the globe, while, with downward glance, they surveyed the town, the river, and the shipping, which, from this stupendous height, appeared little things. They stood and gazed with rapture on the vast expanse of land, and on the streams which ran into the great river La Plata, or into the fathomless deep. But this glorious reverie was soon terminated, and the delighted dreamers awoke to the sober and rough realities of life. On their return home, passing through a valley, they perceived three inhabitants on horseback, who followed them speedily at a full gallop, and, before the Missionaries were aware, they were carried along at a similar rate. Their pursuers had filled their bosoms with large stones, at the throwing of which they were very expert and certain in their aim, even at full speed on horseback; and with these they pelted the strangers. The store of stones having been discharged, one of the fellows smote Mr. Gregory on the nape of the neck with a leather rope, in consequence of which, and the sudden attempt to stop, combined with but moderate skill in horsemanship, he was thrown to the ground, and Dr. Turner's horse went over him, but happily without injury. The miscreants, meanwhile, galloped off to the brook to collect more stones, but the opportune appearance of a Spaniard led to their immediate flight, and left the Missionaries to pursue their journey.

CHAPTER VII.

EVENTS AND DISASTERS FROM THE TIME OF LEAVING MONTE VIDEO TILL THE ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND.

Departure for Rio Janeiro—Strange Sails—Alarming Circumstances—Second Capture—Distribution of the Missionaries—Cruelty and Kindness—Arrival at Lisbon—Return to England.

On Wednesday, May the 8th, the day of the Anniversary Meeting of the Society in London, the Missionaries embarked on board the brig. Carbonelle, faithful to the last, sent them on board six young cows, with two large hogs, which were considered sufficient to supply them with fresh meat till they arrived at Rio Janeiro. After they were got on board, one of the cows leaped into the ocean and was drowned. Thus they left Monte Video, and the beloved Duff in its harbour, in the hands of the Spaniards, who had bought her for thirty-eight thousand dollars, after her cargo had been removed. All the Missionaries, their wives and children, with the Captain, officers, and seamen, were now on board the brig, with the following exceptions: Mr. Wilson,* third mate of the Duff, Robert Hall, carpenter, and James Anderson, seaman, sailed in the Rose, American brig, to Philadelphia; Thomas Shaw and Henry Denyner, seamen, remained in Monte Video; W. Dass also sailed on board the American ship Liberty, to Philadelphia; and another seaman remained in the harbour at work in a ship till he suited himself. Thus the brig proceeded to Rio Janeiro, in company with Le Grand Buonaparte, of which they lost sight on the night of Friday, May the 10th, and

* Nephew of Captain Wilson, late of the Duff. This young man, on arriving at Philadelphia, wrote his uncle a letter, dated June 5, which was received in London August 2, and conveyed to the Directors the first tidings of the calamity.—See the letter in the Evangelical Magazine, vol. vii. p. 87.

saw her no more. For fourteen days the wind had not been fair during so many hours. On the night of Sunday, the 26th, it changed and became favourable, and during the subsequent week they made great progress. On Tuesday, June the 4th, they crossed the line of Capricorn, with the certain and joyful prospect of reaching their long-looked-for port, Rio Janeiro, on the evening of the morrow. On the morning of Wednesday, the 5th, the wind was fine and fair for the port. This was now the second time their hearts had exulted in the prospect of entering Rio Janeiro; but they little anticipated that a second time they would, near the same spot, become the afflicted subjects of a second capture.

Early in the morning of that disastrous day, a strange sail appeared in sight; and others in succession were discovered from the mast-head, till thirty were counted, all steering the same course, and supposed to be bound for the same port. No apprehension, however, was excited, for it was considered they were secure against even an enemy, seeing that Carbonelle had given Captain Robson a letter to certify that they were a cartel of English prisoners exchanged by him; and thus confiding, they kept on their course. But at ten o'clock a large frigate was abreast of them, and hailed them to inquire what ship, whence they came, and whither they were bound. They most unwisely hoisted English colours, seeing that the brig and her owner, who was on board, were Portuguese—facts which, although she was navigated by Englishmen, fully authorized, or rather demanded, the exhibition of Portuguese colours, which would have saved them from capture. Captain Robson likewise stated, that they came from Monte Video, and were a cartel of English prisoners bound for Rio Janeiro. The answer did not satisfy, and they were again hailed, and ordered to send their boat alongside. The Captain assured them, that the boat was in such a state that she could not swim. The reply was, "Send your boat immediately, or we will fire a shot." No colours were yet hoisted by the frigate, and it was uncertain whether she was Spanish or Portuguese, a friend or an enemy. While preparing to get

out the boat they were hailed a third time,—"Never mind, we will send to you." Their boat immediately put off, manned with soldiers and two officers, who came on board, with a seaman who acted as interpreter, and went down into the cabin to examine their papers, during which they were hailed again, and ordered to send their captain aboard the frigate, which now displayed the Portuguese flag. The captain was told the papers must be sent to the commodore of the fleet; he then returned to the brig, accompanied by two officers, while the frigate sailed off to the commodore's ship, and the brig followed.

This was an afternoon of painful suspense to the poor prisoners. They knew, that the owner of this brig had not purchased her of Carbonelle, in a manner strictly accordant with the laws of his country, as she was never "condemned," any more than the Duff; and he had no Spanish passport. It was, however, certain, that they could not by any possibility be involved in the criminality of the transaction. At twilight the Commodore and frigate spoke to each other, when both with the fleet lay to for the brig; and on her coming up, a boat was despatched with more officers, soldiers, and sailors, who brought their provisions, as they were to tarry for the night. Captain Robson was now ordered with all the seamen, and unmarried men, to leave the brig and go on board the frigate, as the Commodore refused to give any positive decision on the papers. This was considered a demonstration of a second capture. Those on board the brig passed a night of sleepless wretchedness, longing for the return of day, that they might know the worst. Their fate was soon ascertained. At an early hour a boat put off from the Commodore's ship with more soldiers and sailors, armed with swords and pistols, with the Portuguese captain and lieutenant who had originally commanded her, when taken by Le Grand Buonaparte, and who had been fellow prisoners with the Missionaries on board Le Buonaparte, but had been sent with the other prisoners on shore at Rio Janeiro, as it has been stated in a previous page, and who were now returning to Europe in the fleet, little expecting that they should meet and repossess their vessel. This

coarse man, on coming aboard, without uttering a word took possession of the brig; and the moment he had got all his men and things shipped, he ordered every soul immediately to quit her; an order which, on explanation, amounted to this, "that the women must go on board of one ship, and the men of another." The married Missionaries boldly and at once refused. They knew the alliance that subsisted between England and Portugal; and that, although the Commodore, acting as a judge in equity, might take the brig from the Portuguese merchant who had unlawfully bought her, and restore her to her original captain and owners, yet he dared not treat unoffending Englishmen as prisoners of war. They, therefore, determined that force alone should separate them from their families; and that they should either remain or go together. It was, therefore, conceded that they should go together, and they commenced preparations for their removal. The taciturn captain, impatient to be rid of them, ordered the soldiers to go below and compel every woman at the point of the sword immediately to enter the boat. Few, however, of the soldiers went down, and such as did, paid no attention to the cruel order. This maritime barbarian was most appropriately designated; his name was Ruffeno, and he was an accomplished ruffian. Unmindful of his former afflictive situation as a prisoner, and the generosity of the French in giving him his large chest of clothes, and, soon after, his liberty, he acted, though an ally to England, diametrically opposite, and cruelly refused the plundered Missionaries, and their wives and children, even the few tattered remnants of their worn-out apparel, till they declared their determined resolution not to leave the brig without them. A boat now conveyed several of the brethren and sisters to one of the ships, after which Captain Robson was brought on board, who informed the Missionaries that the Commodore had acted with harsh and unreasonable abruptness, had taken all his papers, and even his own private letters from him, although he would scarcely look at any of them, but said that "all must go with him to Lisbon." Robson pleaded their destitute condition, as being in utter want of every necessary, and humanely urged

vered, left Lisbon with her husband and Captain Robson on the 12th of October, and arrived safely in London on the 12th of November. Mrs. Hughes died at Lisbon, Sunday the 27th of October; Mr. Hughes sailed for London on the 21st of November; he was captured by a French privateer on the 5th of December; on the 15th instant he was recaptured by a Guernsey cutter, and on January the 21st, 1800, he arrived in safety at Plymouth.

Mr. Hardcastle:—"I am, however, bound by ties of conscience and gratitude to stay some short time to use every effort for the liberty of Seignior Marcos da Costa Guimrange, who, in the hand of Providence, was the instrument of releasing us all from Monte Video. He since our arrival has not as yet been suffered to go on shore." He had lost 12,500 dollars by the re-capture of the packet; and, after suffering imprisonment at Lisbon, he came to London, where he was subjected to great embarrassment and distress. His condition coming to the knowledge of the Directors, they made repeated advances of pecuniary assistance to him, provided the means of returning to his own country, and otherwise supplying his necessities to the amount of about £500.

PART EIGHTH.

VIEW OF SOCIETY IN THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS PREVIOUS TO THE INTRODUCTION OF THE GOSPEL.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL CHARACTER OF THE ISLANDERS, AND ARREOY SOCIETY.

Complexion of the Otaheiteans—Cast of Countenance—Movements—Manners—Differences among the Friendly Islanders—Superiority of the Marquesans—Stature of the Chiefs—Intellectual Capabilities—Morals—Arreoy Society.

A CONSIDERABLE portion of light has already been incidentally thrown upon the state of Society among the islanders of the South Seas. Many facts have been recorded, from which sagacious minds will draw appropriate inferences; but it is necessary to exhibit more formally and copiously the moral, economical, political, and religious aspect of these swarming isles. This and the following chapters, it is hoped, will go far towards a statement of the leading facts relative to every subject of importance connected with them.

The inhabitants of Otaheite are, in point of stature, of the largest size of Europeans. The men in general are tall, strong, and finely moulded. Deformity is a thing almost unknown among them, and it is always considered as reflecting disgrace on the mother. The women of superior rank are also, for the most part, above the middle stature; but those of the inferior classes are rather below it. Their natural complexion is a clear olive, which, in the case of per-

sons exposed to the wind and sun, is considerably deepened, but in that of others who live much under shelter, especially the superior class of females, it retains its native hue, and the skin is exceedingly delicate, smooth, and soft. The colour is uniform, without any of those rosy tints which beautify the European visage. The countenance is nevertheless comely; it is much rounded, and seldom displays any resemblance to the angular features of a large and intelligent portion of the inhabitants of our quarter of the globe. The cheek bones are not high, neither are the eyes hollow, nor the brow prominent; the nose is generally rather flat, which in some islands is deemed so essential to manly beauty, that mothers and nurses were formerly accustomed to press that of their male infants from the time of birth. Their eyes, especially those of females, are for the most part full of expression, sometimes sparkling with fire, and at others melting with softness; their teeth are also, with hardly an exception, beautifully even and of the purest white. Their hair is almost universally black, and, as compared with ours, somewhat coarse. The men have beards which they wear in divers fashions, always, however, plucking out a great part of them, and keeping the rest perfectly clean and neat. In their movements vigour combines with ease; their walk is graceful; their deportment is manly and liberal; and their ordinary behaviour is affable and courteous.*

The Friendly islanders differ somewhat in several respects from those of Otaheite and its sister isles. In stature they are generally less, though some exceed six feet; but they are strong and well made, especially as to their limbs; and, though strength rather than beauty is their distinguishing feature, there are to be seen several who are very handsome. Their features are various, insomuch that it is scarcely possible to fix on any general likeness by which to characterize them; many countenances among them, indeed, are quite European. Their eyes and teeth are good; but the latter are neither so remarkably white nor so well set, as in most of the other groups. The women are distinguished

* Cook, vol. i. p. 187.

from the men less by their features than by their form, which is more slender, generally well proportioned, and in some instances a perfect model of beauty. But the most remarkable distinction of the females is, the uncommon smallness and delicacy of their fingers, which may be put in competition with the finest in Europe. The general colour is a shade deeper than the copper brown; but some of both sexes have a true olive complexion, and such of the females as are less exposed to the sun are still fairer. Among the bulk of the people, however, the skin is more generally of a dull hue, with some degree of roughness, especially on the parts that are uncovered.

The inhabitants of the Marquesas, collectively, are, without exception, the finest race of people in the Pacific. In form and features they surpass all other nations, although, as already hinted, the affinity of their language to that spoken in Otaheite and the Society Isles demonstrates a community of origin.*

Early navigators were struck with the circumstance, that in the groups of the Pacific generally, the kings, chiefs, and persons of a hereditary order, are, universally, or with a very few exceptions, as much superior to the multitude in physical force, in personal stateliness, and dignified deportment, as in rank, property, and power. How is this extraordinary circumstance to be accounted for? Were the parties successively chosen, and were the election regularly made to turn, in part at least, upon the possession of these personal qualities, the fact would at once constitute the explanation. But it is otherwise; the reference is to those whose rank is hereditary, and whose strength and stature have uniformly descended with it. Cook and others, after surveying the difficulties of the subject, have supposed, that the rulers were a separate race, alleging that this alone can account for the remarkable phenomena. Others deem such a hypothesis altogether needless, and maintain, that "different treatment in infancy, superior food, and distinct habits of life, are quite sufficient."† But these alone by no means

* Cook, vol. iii. p. 307.

† Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 17.

adequately explain the fact. At the outset of life, the food of the prince and the peasant is one and the same in kind, and the only difference that can exist relates to quantity; but it is an established fact, that no difference of quantity supplied in infancy, can materially and uniformly augment the original frame of the individual; it may increase obesity, but it does not necessarily enlarge the bones. Then the habits of the higher classes in Polynesia, as in all countries, have always tended rather to deteriorate and to destroy the race, than to invigorate and improve it. There is the fact, but it cannot be altogether satisfactorily accounted for by any circumstances apart from parentage;* and, perhaps, when the subject is thoroughly sifted, we shall be driven to a conclusion not very dissimilar to that of Cook—a conclusion, however, attended with difficulties nearly as great as those which it is intended to remove.

Of the intellectual capacities of these islanders it may with truth be said, that in respect of original power they are inferior to no class of human kind. But to call forth the talents of Polynesia must be a work of time. To raise the buried intellect of a whole people has always been the work of several generations. The system of means by which a nation is intellectually trained is vast and complicated; and in no case has the training ever outrun the means. The physical, intellectual, and moral attributes of man, moreover, depend, for their respective developments and improvement, upon different orders of means; and the causes which have most conduced to the culture of the understanding have generally been prejudicial to the vigour of the physical powers. Of the mental capabilities of the islanders there can be no hazard in affirming, that they are, in all respects, equal to the English, and that the time draws on when they will occupy an honourable place in relation to literature and science, among the nations of the earth.†

All speculation and contention about the original and inherent qualities of human nature may soon be settled by an appeal to the word of God. If the Most High "hath of

* See Miss. Enterprises, p. 513. † Ibid. p. 514.

one blood made all nations of men for to dwell upon all the face of the earth," then, whatever differences of colour, face, or figure, may have been impressed or imposed by clime, culture, and circumstances, there must be among mankind a radical identity of general nature. The same authority supplies another general principle, of equal truth and certainty, respecting the moral character of man. If "all flesh" hath corrupted its way; if there be "none righteous, no not one;" if there be "none that understandeth, none that seeketh after God;" if they be "all gone out of the way, and become unprofitable;" if there be "none that doeth good, no not one;" if "their throat be an open sepulchre, and with their tongues they have used deceit;" if "the poison of asps be under their lips, and their mouth be full of cursing and bitterness;" if "their feet be swift to shed blood, and destruction and misery be in their ways, and the way of peace they have not known;" and if "there be no fear of God before their eyes;"*—if all these be among the true sayings of God, relative to our entire species, we may at once dispense with the fictions which originally filled the ears of Europe respecting the paradisaic innocence of the occupants of Polynesia. On the subject of their morals the Missionaries alone are competent witnesses. Had European navigators been very different men from what they almost all have been, their transient visits and limited intercourse, generally combined with a very imperfect knowledge of the language, or rather, for the most part, with an utter ignorance of it, entitle their testimony upon this point to very little credit. Is it he, who, at the hour of twilight, from without peeps through the gratings of a single cell, that is the proper person to detail the secrets of a prison-house and the horrors of a dungeon, or the man who resides within, yet walks at liberty, with torch in hand, through the length and breadth of the dreadful mansion? The Missionaries have examined into the facts of Polynesian morality, and reported upon them, and their testimony is in sad unison with the sacred Scriptures. According to these

* See Romans iii. 10—18.

men of God, and faithful witnesses who will not lie, nothing was wanting among the tenants of the isles to finish the portrait of a fallen creature. Their mildness and vivacity were but a deceitful mask, which, like the flowers that adorn the tomb, conceal the rottenness and dead men's bones that repose within.*

While such was their general character, the light within them was not wholly extinguished;† among many of the islands we have some striking facts illustrative of the presence and power of that light. Such facts, however, are the exception; the rule is, transgression against God! But passing by general infanticide, reserving the subject of murder in the character of sacrifice to the Gods, and leaving to repose in darkness a world of iniquity which cannot be uttered, it yet remains to mention a most atrocious confederation, designated the Arreoy Society. This institution attracted the notice of Cook on his first visit to the islands. He was so struck and shocked by its peculiar character, that he took unusual pains to inform himself upon the subject, justly thinking it "not fit that a practice so horrid and so strange should be imputed to human beings upon slight evidence."‡ One of the smallest peculiarities of this infernal association, and an unalterable condition of admission to its diabolical fellowship, was, that every member should murder every child on its birth! All that Cook has reported of this society has been confirmed by the Missionaries, with additional facts and illustrations. It claims a high antiquity, and has prevailed to a great extent. The sphere of its mischief was particularly the Society Isles. There is no evidence that its abominations ever prevailed in the Sandwich Isles, or in the Marquesas. This fraternity of evil-doers was composed of seven distinct orders or gradations, and comprised a multitude of members of both sexes.§ Debauchery and profligacy were the study and the

* See Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 25.

† See Mariner's Tonga Islands, vol. ii. pp. 157—168; Wilson's Pelew Islands, p. 329.

‡ Vol. i. p. 207, 240.

§ Polynesian Researches, vol. i. p. 312.

business of these miserable beings through life. Nothing among mortals has ever been recorded to excel their iniquity. The facts of their orgies are too horrible to bear even an allusion. The soul shudders and revolts from the appalling degradation of human nature there exhibited!

CHAPTER II.

DRESS AND TATTOOING.

Cloth and Matting—Adjustment of Dress—Cold and Heat—Divers Ranks—Bonnet Shades—Turban and Tomou—Long Threads—Flowers—Feathers—Marquesan Usages—Tongataboo—Tattooing—Instruments, Operation, and Figures—Interesting Case of a Girl.

When Cook first arrived at Otaheite, the dress of the natives consisted of cloth and matting of different kinds, which will be described when we come to speak of their manufactures. The cloth, which will not bear wetting, they wear in dry weather, and the matting when it rains; they were put on in various ways, just as fancy prompted, for nothing was cut into shape, nor were any two pieces sewed together. The dress of the superior class of females consisted of three or four pieces; one piece, about two yards wide and eleven yards long, they wrapped several times round the waist, so as to hang down nearly to the ancle; two or three other pieces, about two and a half yards long and one yard wide, each with a hole cut in the middle, they placed one upon another, and then putting the head through the apertures, they allowed the ends to dangle before and behind, thus leaving the sides open, and giving the arms full play. These depending pieces were gathered round the waist, and confined with a sash of thinner cloth, of length sufficient to go several times about them. The dress of the men was the same as that of the other sex, only instead of suffering the cloth to hang down around the limbs, they brought it between them, so that it resembled, in some measure, the corresponding article of European apparel.

This was the dress of all ranks of people; the form was universally the same, and the only distinction of rank was the quantity of cloth employed by the individual. Some of the great people wrapped around them several pieces of

cloth, eight or ten yards long, and two or three broad; and some threw a large piece over their shoulders, in the manner of a cloak, or even two pieces, if they were very exalted personages, and desirous to appear in state. The inferior class, who had only a small allowance of cloth from the tribes or families to which they belonged, was more meanly, that is more thinly, clad. During the heat of the day, the inhabitants generally were almost naked, the women having only a scanty petticoat, and the men nothing but the maro or sash that was fastened round their waist. As finery is always troublesome, especially in warm countries, where it consists in putting one covering upon another, the women of rank always uncovered themselves in the evening as low as the waist, throwing off all that they wear on the upper part of the body, with the same negligence and ease as the ladies of Europe lay aside an oppressive article of attire; and the chiefs, even when they visited Captain Cook, although they had as much cloth round their middle as might have clothed a dozen of people, were frequently otherwise quite naked.

They wore no covering upon the legs and feet; but they shaded their faces from the sun with little bonnets, made of matting or of cocoa-nut leaves, which they occasionally manufactured in a few minutes. This, however, was not all their head-dress; the females sometimes wore little turbans, and sometimes a dress which they valued much more, and which, indeed, was considered more becoming, called *tomou*. This article consisted of human hair, plaited in threads not much thicker than sewing silk. This was the product of marvellous patience. Mr. Banks, who accompanied Captain Cook, obtained pieces of it above a mile in length, without a single knot. These lines the ladies wound about the head in a vast quantity, and in such a manner as to produce a very pretty effect. Captain Cook had seen five or six such pieces coiled around the head of one woman. Among these threads they stuck various kinds of flowers,—of which, like all savages, they were excessively fond,—particularly the Cape jessamine, which they possessed in great plenty, as it was always planted near their houses.

The other sex were not less attentive to the claims of barbaric pride and folly. They sometimes stuck the tail feather of the tropic-bird upright in their hair, which was often tied in a bunch upon the top of their heads. They sometimes wore a kind of whimsical garland, made of flowers of various kinds, stuck into a piece of the rind of a plantain; or of scarlet peas, fixed with gum upon a piece of wood; and sometimes they wore a kind of wig, made of the hair of men or of dogs, or of cocoa-nut strings, woven upon one thread, which was tied under their hair, in such a manner that it might hang down behind.

Flowers were almost the only personal ornaments used among them. Both sexes wore ear-rings, but they were, strangely enough, placed only on one side. When Captain Cook first arrived, the rings consisted of small pieces of shell, stone, berries, red peas, or some small pearls, three in a string; his beads, however, very soon supplanted everything else.*

The dress of the Marquesans differed but little from that of the Otaheiteans, except in its generally inferior quality and its diminished quantity. The same remark applies to that of the inhabitants of Tongataboo. In both these groups the common people wore but little clothing, and frequently nothing except a covering made of the leaves of plants, or the maro. There, as in Otaheite, the women were extravagantly fond of flowers, and the men not less enamoured of red feathers.†

The people of Otaheite, like the savage inhabitants of most other countries, stained their bodies by a process which they called tattooing. This is the simplest dress of man; and, at a distance, the party has very much the aspect of being handsomely attired. The process is one of much pain and much labour, and, although not connected with religion, it was generally performed by the priests. It requires a delicate and skilful hand. They pricked the skin, so as just not to draw blood, with a small instrument, something in the form of a hoe. The part answering to the blade was

* See Cook's Voyages, vol. i. pp. 191—193.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 308; vol. v. p. 440. Voyage of the Briton, pp. 46, 47.

made of a bone or shell, scraped very thin, and was from a quarter of an inch to an inch and a half wide; the edge was cut into sharp teeth or points, from the number of three to twenty, according to its size; when this instrument was to be used, the operator dipped the teeth into a mixture of a kind of lamp-black, formed of the smoke that rose from an oily nut, which they burned instead of candles, and water. The teeth, thus prepared, were placed upon the skin, and the handle to which they were fastened being struck by quick, smart blows, with a stick fitted for the purpose, they pierced it, and, at the same time, carried into the puncture the black composition, which leaves an indelible stain. The operation was painful, and it was some days before the wounds were healed. It was performed on the youth of both sexes at about the age of fourteen, in several parts of the body, and in various figures, according to the fancy of the parent, the rank of the party, the taste or whim of the artist. The women were generally marked in the form of a Z, on every joint of their fingers and toes, and frequently round the outside of their feet; the men were also marked with the same figure; and both men and women had squares, circles, crescents, and ill-designed representations of men, birds, or dogs, and various other devices, impressed upon their legs and arms, some of which had symbolical significations, although Captain Cook could never learn what they were, and the Missionaries have said little that is satisfactory on the subject. These ornaments were most profusely lavished on the breech, which was covered with a deep black, and above which arches were drawn one over another as high as the short ribs. These arches were often a quarter of an inch broad; and their edges were not straight lines but indented. These stripes were their pride, and, whether considered as an ornament, or as a proof of fortitude in bearing pain, they were exhibited by both sexes with a mixture of ostentation and pleasure. The face in general was left unmasked; and Cook saw but one instance to the contrary. There was, however, a good deal of fashion in the matter, and different islands had different usages. Some veterans had the greatest part of their bodies covered with

large patches of black, deeply indented at the edges, like a rude imitation of flame, but the Captain was told that they came from a low island called Noouoova, and were not natives of Otaheite.

Mr. Banks saw the operation performed on a girl about the age of thirteen. The instrument used upon that occasion had thirty teeth, and every stroke—of which at least one hundred were made in a minute—drew an ichor or serum slightly tinged with blood. The sufferer bore it with the most stoical resolution for about a quarter of an hour; but the pain of so many hundred punctures inflicted in rapid succession became intolerable. She first complained in murmurs, then wept, and at last burst into loud lamentations, imploring the operator to desist. But he, deaf to her cries, and apparently delighted, prosecuted his work of torture; and when she began to struggle, she was held down by two women, who alternately soothed and chid her, and at times, when she became unruly through agony, the beldames gave her a smart blow. Mr. Banks tarried in the neighbourhood an hour, and the operation was not over when he departed, yet it was at that time performed only upon one side, the other having been previously tattooed; and the arches upon the loins, their chief ornament and an affair of more pain than all the rest, were still to be performed.*

Cook never saw a native of either sex, in Otaheite, arrived at mature years, who was not tattooed. He thought the custom might possibly take its rise in superstition, since it produced no visible advantage, and was the occasion of great pain; but though he inquired of many hundreds, he could obtain no account of its origin.† Lieutenant Shillibeer, on the other hand, maintains, that it is considered a species of dress, a man without it being generally held in the utmost contempt.‡ Even the Missionaries have never been able to trace its origin; they conceive it had at first an

* See Veeson's Narrative, pp. 178—180, which relates his own experience upon the subject, and states some interesting facts.

† Vol. i. pp. 189, 190.

‡ Voyage of the Briton, p. 47.

object, but that in later times it was merely an ornament.* While the practice prevailed everywhere among both sexes, navigators are uniform in their testimony, that females are much less extensively punctured than the other sex; and it would seem, that no class of savages were so thoroughly shrouded in this ever-during mantle of nature as the magnanimous but ferocious cannibals of New Zealand. In that country the men seemed to add something every year to the ornaments or vesture of the preceding, so that the more ancient men were almost covered from head to foot. Besides the tattoo, which they called Amoco, they had other marks impressed of a very extraordinary kind, furrows of about a line deep, and a line broad, such as appear upon the bark of a tree which has been cut through after a year's growth. The edges of these furrows were afterwards indented by the same method, and being perfectly black, made a most frightful appearance.

* See Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 463.

CHAPTER III.

DWELLINGS, FOOD, AND DRINK.

Otaheitean Residences—Description of a House—Night in the Chief's House—Animal Food—Vegetables—Cookery—Example in a Dog—Water Beverage—Preparation of Cava—Regular Meals—Example of Excess.

In Otaheite, at the time of its discovery, the houses or rather sheds of the natives were all built in the wood, between the sea and the mountains, and no more ground was cleared for each erection than just sufficed to prevent the dropping of the branches from rotting the thatch with which it was covered. From the house, therefore, the inhabitants stepped immediately under the shade, which was the most delightful that could be imagined, consisting of groves of bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, without underwood, and intersected in all directions by the paths which lead from one residence to another. Nothing can be more grateful than this shade in so warm a climate; it cools, without impeding the free circulation of the air; and the dwellings, having no walls, receive the refreshing gale from whatever point it may proceed.

It may be instructive to give a description of a house of the middling size, which—as the structure of their dwellings, like the form of their garb, was universally the same—may suffice to give a correct view of the whole of the island habitations. The ground covered by such a house was an oblong square, of twenty-four feet by eleven. Over this square a roof was raised upon three rows of pillars or posts, ranged parallel to each other, one on each side, and one in the middle. This roof was an exact resemblance to those of our thatched houses in England. The height within from the ground to the roof-tree was about nine feet, and the eaves on each side reached down till within about

three and a half feet from the ground. At the sides and gables it was quite open, without any sort of inclosure. This roof was thatched with palm leaves, and the floor was covered to a depth of some inches with soft hay, over which mats were laid, the whole forming one cushion, on which, when not abroad, they sat during the day, and slept at night. In some houses, however, there was one stool, which was wholly appropriated to the master of the family; besides this there was no furniture, except a few little blocks of wood, the upper side of which was hollowed into a curve, and which served at night for pillows. Houses, indeed, in the isles of the South, were hardly among the necessaries of life. They were chiefly used as dormitories; for, except it rained, they ate in the open air, under the shade of the next tree. The clothes which the natives wore in the day served them for covering in the night. The floor was the common bed of the whole household, and was not divided by any partition. The master of the house and his wife slept in the middle, next to them the married people, then the unmarried women, and a little distance beyond them the unmarried men, while the servants, or Toutous, as they are called, slept in the open air, except when rain fell, and then they came just within the shade.*

The nights of the natives were not always seasons of sound repose. Their labour in the day was only recreation, and they required less sleep than the over-worked minds and bodies of most civilized people, to recruit their wasted energies. An Englishman who resided several years at Tongataboo, and, in all points, lived as a heathen, has disclosed some curious facts respecting the nocturnal hours of the islanders. The renowned Mulkamair, with whom he lived; Mulkamair the husband of eight wives, the father of a patriarchal family, and a ruler of many men, as he lay in his huge habitation, with his household around him, often commenced conversations that much amused, and sometimes instructed them. The talk frequently lasted till midnight, when they all fell asleep; nor did the matter end there, for

* Cook, vol. i. pp. 193—195.

if, during the night, some one chanced to awake, he would renew the conversation with a neighbour, a third being aroused would join them, and soon the whole group would begin to chatter another hour, till they sunk once more to rest.*

The food of the natives, at the time of Cook's arrival, was chiefly vegetable. They had no tame animals except hogs, dogs, and poultry; and these did not exist in abundance. When, on festive occasions, a chief killed a hog, it was almost equally divided amongst his dependents; and as the number of these was generally great, the share of each individual was necessarily small. It will hence appear that the present to navigators of a hog, so frequently mentioned in this volume, was not so small a gift as at first sight it might seem. Dogs and fowls were more abundant, and fell more generally to the share of the common people. The Captain did not much like the fowls, but considered the South Sea dog as little inferior to an English lamb. The dogs bred to be eaten tasted no animal food; but were fed upon bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, yams, and other fruits. Fish existed in abundance, the smaller of which the natives ate raw as we do oysters. Of their vegetables, which were very plentiful, the principal was the bread-fruit, to procure which, cost no other labour than climbing a tree. This tree does not indeed grow of itself; but "if a man plants ten of them in his lifetime, which he may do in about an hour, he will as completely fulfil his duty to his own and future generations, as the natives of our less temperate climate can do by ploughing in the cold of winter, and reaping in the summer's heat, as often as these seasons return; even if, after he has procured bread for his present household, he should convert a surplus into money, and lay it up for his children."† The bread-fruit, it is true, is not always in season, but the bountiful hand of Heaven has provided a most ample supplement of cocoa-nuts, bananas, plantains, and a great variety of other fruits.

Such being the food of the islanders, the science of cookery

* See Veeson's Narrative, pp. 94, 96.

† Cook, vol. i. pp. 196, 197.

was, of course, but little cultivated. They had only two methods of applying fire to food—broiling and baking. Having no species of metal pots or pans, they had no conception of boiling anything in water. Broiling is too simple a process to require description; baking was gone about more methodically. We have an example in Tupia, who figures with advantage in Cook's voyages, that serves to illustrate the double functions of butcher and cook, in the following manner:—seizing the dog, he killed him by holding his hands close over his mouth and nose—an operation which consumed a quarter of an hour. While this work of destruction was going on, a hole was made in the ground, about a foot deep, in which a fire was kindled, and some small stones placed in layers alternately with the wood to heat. The dog was then singed, by holding him over the fire, and, by scraping him with a shell, the hair was taken off as clean as if he had been scalded in hot water; he was then cut up with the same instrument, and his entrails on being removed were sent to the sea, carefully washed and put into cocoa-nut shells, with the blood that had come from the body. When the hole in the ground was sufficiently heated, the fire was taken out, and some of the stones, which were not so hot as to discolour anything that they touched, being placed at the bottom, were covered with green leaves. The dog, with the shells containing the entrails, was then placed upon the leaves, and other leaves being laid upon them, the whole was covered with the rest of the hot stones, and the mouth of the hole closely stopped with mould. After a space of somewhat less than four hours, it was again opened, and the dog taken out excellently baked. All the flesh and fish eaten by the inhabitants was dressed in the same way. Cook attests that hogs and large fish were, by this process, more juicy, and more equally done, than by any art of cookery practised in Europe. Bread-fruit was also cooked in an oven of the same kind, which rendered it soft, and something like a boiled potato. The bread-fruit was likewise made into various dishes. To all their food salt water was the universal sauce, without which no meal was eaten. Those who lived near the sea brought

it as necessity required, and such as lived at a distance kept it in store.

In respect of drink, the common beverage was pure water, or the juice of the cocoa-nut. The art of producing fermented liquors to intoxicate was unknown to them. Some drank freely of such liquors on board the ships, and in a few instances became very drunk; but the parties to whom this occurred, so far from soliciting a repetition, could never be prevailed on either to taste or touch them afterwards. The natives, however, were not without means of intoxication, nor the disposition to use them.* They prepared and drank a juice that was procured from a plant called Cava. The Cava was a root planted principally for the use of the chiefs, and happily too scarce for the lower orders. The root supplies a spirit of an intoxicating nature, and the process of its extraction is thus described by one who well understood it. It is first scraped with a shell, and rubbed clean with the rough husk of the cocoa-nut, and then divided among the company to be prepared for making the liquor. The preparation is a stately and dignified business. A large circle is formed by the whole company, all sitting cross-legged, and the chief at its head. On each side of him are stationed his tack-hangers, or ministers, to superintend the process. The Cava root is then split, and the pieces distributed among the circle, who hand them to the young people present who have good and clean teeth, to be chewed. When all the root is masticated and laid upon a leaf, a large bowl with three legs is handed round, into which each person empties his leaf. The bowl is then placed within the circle before the chief, and accompanied by certain formalities the Cava is mixed with water. The masticated root, thus soaked, is strained several times till the juice be perfectly cleansed. It is then distributed, with much decorum and ceremony, to the chief and his guests. While the Cava is preparing, the dependents of the chief are busy baking yams which are eaten along with it. The common people rarely enjoy this luxury; for the chiefs generally exact the root of those who

* Cook, vol. i. pp. 198, 199.

possess it, and consume it with their brother chiefs and dependents. They often drink the deceitful draught from break of day, till eleven or twelve o'clock at noon, when their attendants are completely worn out by waiting on them. They then go and lay themselves down for two or three hours, and afterwards rise, bathe, walk among the plantations, or amuse themselves in wrestling, boxing, and other sports.* To their praise it must be stated, that they carefully keep this intoxicating juice from their women.†

The islanders, generally, have no regular meals.‡ But when they eat, it is upon a magnificent scale. They feed as men who have not for a long time fed before, and who have no expectation of feeding soon again. Cook has left a singular testimony in the following passage:—"I have seen one man devour two or three fishes as big as a perch; three bread-fruits, each bigger than two fists, fourteen or fifteen plantains or bananas, each of them six or seven inches long, and four or five round, and near a quart of the pounded bread-fruit, which is as substantial as the thickest unbaked custard."§

* Veeson's Narrative, pp. 97—101; and also Mariner's Tonga, vol. ii. pp. 173—196.

† Cook, vol. i. p. 199.

‡ Voyage of the Briton, p. 45.

§ Cook, vol. i. p. 201.

CHAPTER IV.

ARTS—MANUFACTURES—AND CANOE BUILDING.

Three kinds of Cloth—Manufactures—Matting—Baskets—Ropes—Fishing Lines—Nets—Harpoons—Hooks—Canoes—Tools—Ivahahs and Pahies—War Canoe—Travelling Pahies—Nautical Skill—Astronomy—War and Sacred Canoes—Festivities.

From the united testimonies of navigators, temporary residents, and Christian Missionaries, it is a clearly established fact, that, however rude, the same principles of art and manufacture pervade the whole of the islands, while the degrees of skill and dexterity with which they are carried out, in the several groups, are various. Cloth, being the chief necessary, is their principal manufacture. It is of three kinds, and made of the bark of three different trees,—the Chinese paper mulberry, the bread-fruit tree, and the tree which resembles the wild fig-tree of the West Indies. The finest cloth is made from the tree first mentioned, and is worn chiefly by the principal people; the second tree produces cloth of a secondary quality, which is used by the common people; and the third furnishes a cloth, coarse and harsh, but most rare and most useful, the more so because it resists water, which the superior fabrics freely admit. All the three kinds are manufactured in the same manner. The bark of the trees is slit up longitudinally, then drawn off, and deposited in a running stream to soak; when sufficiently softened, the inner bark is separated from the green part on the outside, and scraped with a shell till nothing remains but the fine fibres of the inner coat. Thus prepared, in the evening it is spread out upon plantain leaves; the fibres are laid side by side, and extended in length, till they are about a foot broad and ten or twelve yards long, and two or three layers are also placed upon one another, and all of

equal thickness. Laid after this manner, and left till the morning, the mass of fibres adhere together so firmly that the whole may be raised from the ground in one piece. It is then removed and laid upon a long block of smooth wood, and there beaten with a little truncheon of wood, with four flat sides, each marked lengthwise with grooves of different degrees of fineness. The adhering mass is beaten with the four sides of this tool in succession—with the finest last—and then it is fit for use. If it be bleached in the air, it assumes the aspect of a bright white; but it becomes whiter still, and softer, by being washed and beaten again, after it has been worn. The degrees of fineness depend upon the extent of the beating. This cloth is also dyed in various colours, but chiefly in red and yellow. Captain Cook deemed the red exceedingly beautiful, superior to the finest European scarlet.

In the scale of importance, the manufacture of matting stands next to that of cloth. The coarser kind is used to sleep on, and the finer to wear in wet weather. The matting is fabricated of various substances: one kind from the bark of a certain tree; a second from the leaves of another; and a third from a great variety of rushes and grasses.

In the manufacture of the smaller wares used among them, they are very clever. They make beautiful baskets and wicker-work; their patterns are very various, and many of them very neat. This art is practised by all, both men and women. Of bark they also make ropes and lines, from the thickness of an inch to the size of a small packthread; and of the latter they work their fishing-nets. Of the fibres of the cocoa-nut they make thread, for fastening together the several parts of their canoes, and belts, either round or flat, twisted or plaited; and of the bark of the *erow*, a kind of nettle, they manufacture the best fishing-lines in the world. With these they hold the strongest and most active fish, such as bonetas and albicores, which would snap the strongest silk lines in a minute, though they were twice as thick. They make nets of a coarse grass, of the enormous extent of sixty or even eighty fathoms in length. This they haul in shoal-smooth water, and its own weight keeps it so

close to the ground, that scarcely a single fish can escape. In all that appertains to fishing they are very dexterous; they make harpoons of cane, and point them with hard wood, which in their hands strike fish more effectually than those which are headed with iron in the hands of Europeans; setting aside the advantage of the latter being fastened to a line, so that the fish is secured if the barb take hold, though it may not mortally wound him.* Their fishing-hooks are made of shell, and admirably adapted to the purpose. Every fisherman is his own artificer, and the manufacture of the best hook is accomplished in about fifteen minutes.

The grandest achievement of Polynesian skill is the manufacture of their canoes; "perhaps to fabricate one of their principal vessels with their tools is as great a work as to build a British man-of-war with ours."† Their tool-chest, when Wallis found them, comprised the following implements:—an adze, of stone; a chisel or gouge, of bone, generally that of a man's arm between the wrist and elbow; a rasp, of coral; and the skin of a sting-ray, with coral sand, as a file or polisher, to give their work its finish. Such is the complete catalogue! Yet, with these humble instruments, they builded houses, constructed canoes, hewed stones;—they felled, cleaved, carved, and polished timber; —they formed planks out of the hardest and most solid wood, and builded vessels capable of carrying three hundred persons! Is any additional proof wanted of their capabilities of laborious industry and inexhaustible perseverance?

The boats of Otaheite and the neighbouring islands, according to Cook, have been divided into two classes, *ivahahs* and *pahies*. The ivahah was used for short excursions, and was wall-sided and flat-bottomed; the pahie, used for longer voyages, was bow-sided and sharp-bottomed. The ivahahs were all of the same figure, but of different sizes, and employed for different purposes. Their length was from ten feet to seventy-two; those of ten feet were only about one foot wide, and those of seventy feet and upwards were scarcely two. One class of the ivahahs was for fighting,

* See Cook, vol. i. p. 216. † Ibid. p. 218.

another for fishing, and a third for sailing on voyages of some distance. The fighting ivahah was by far the longest, and it had the head and stern considerably raised above the body, in the form of a semicircle. The stern was especially elevated; it sometimes rose to the height of seventeen or eighteen feet, although the boat itself was scarcely three. These never went to sea single; they were fastened together, side by side, at a distance of about three feet, by strong bars of wood, which were laid across them and lashed to the gunwales. Upon these, in the fore part, a platform was raised, about ten or twelve feet long, somewhat wider than the boats, and supported by pillars about six feet high. Upon this stage stood the fighting men, whose missile weapons were slings and spears. Below these platforms sat the rowers, who received from them those that were killed or wounded, and furnished fresh men to supply their place. The fishing ivahahs varied in length from ten to forty feet; and all above twenty feet carried sail. The ivahah used for distant voyages was always double, and furnished with a small neat house, about five or six feet broad, and six or seven feet long, which was fastened upon the fore part for the convenience of the principal people, who sat in them by day and slept in them at night.

In Cook's time, the ivahahs were the only boats used in Otaheite; but he saw several pahies that came from other islands. These, like the ivahahs, were also of different sizes, varying from thirty to sixty feet long, and very narrow. One that he measured was fifty-one feet long, and only one foot and a half wide at the top. In the widest part, it was about three feet; and this was the general proportion. It did not, however, widen by a gradual swell; but the sides being straight and parallel, for a little way below the gunwale, it swelled abruptly, and drew to a ridge at the bottom. These, like the largest ivahahs, were occasionally used for fighting, but principally for long voyages. Those employed for the latter purpose were generally double; and the middle size were said to be the best sea boats. They were sometimes out a month together, going from island to island; and sometimes they were a fortnight

or twenty days at sea. When any of these boats carried sail single, they made use of a log of wood, which was fastened to the end of two poles that lay across the vessel, and projected from six to ten feet beyond its windward side, somewhat like what is used by the flying proa of the Ladrone Islands, and called, in the account of Lord Anson's voyage, an outrigger. To this outrigger the shrouds were fastened, and it was essentially necessary in trimming the boat when it blew fresh. Without this balance on the windward side, a single canoe could not have carried sail without being immediately overset.*

Some of the canoes had one mast, and others two, fixed to a frame in the bottom of the vessel, which bore a sail of matting about one-third longer than itself. The sail was pointed at the top, square at the bottom, and curved at the side; it was placed in a frame of wood which surrounded it on every side, and had no contrivance either for reefing or furling, so that if either became necessary, there was no remedy but to cut it away, which, however, in those equal climates, seldom happened. The oars or paddles used in those vessels had a long handle, and a flat blade, and every person on board, except such as sat under the awning, had one.

The nautical skill of the islanders in Cook's time was not contemptible. Their sagacity was wonderful in foretelling the weather, especially the quarter whence the wind would blow at a future time. In their longer voyages, they steered by the sun in the day, and in the night by the stars; all of which they distinguished separately by names, and knew in what part of the heavens they would appear in any of the months during which they were visible in their horizon; they also knew the time of their annual appearing and disappearing with more precision than will easily be believed by a European astronomer.†

According to Morrison, one of the mutineers of the Bounty, whose residence in Otaheite enabled him to understand its internal economy even better than Cook, the

* See Cook, vol. i. p. 221. † Ibid. p. 224.

building of the war canoes, and of those sacred to the Eatooa, was a public or national undertaking, and one encompassed with festivities, and stained with blood. The chief issued his orders to the towhas, and they to the raatiras, who called upon their tenants to furnish hogs, cloth, oil, and other articles, for the support of the carpenters, who were sent to the work. The woods were next examined, the trees selected, cut down, and gathered together to the place of building. The first step then was to make a feast in order to engage the approbation and assistance of the Eatooa; another feast was made when the building commenced; another and another on making fast each successive course. When the first strake or bottom was completed, there was a grand entertainment and an offering, and so on till the whole was finished; and then the labour was honoured with a feast more sumptuous than all that had preceded. The canoe for the Eatooa was dressed out with cloth, breast-plates, and red feathers, while the whole was crowned with murder, and the offering of a human sacrifice! The canoe was drawn up to the Morai, with all the sacrifices and oblations; there the eye of the murdered victim was first offered to the King, with the plantain and prayers, and then the body interred in the Morai.

CHAPTER V.

AMUSEMENTS.

Flutes and Drums—Perpetual Holiday—Swimming—Feats in the Water—Singular Sharks—Wrestling—Dancing—the Story of the Hermit.

The music of the islanders seems to have been in a state corresponding with the general aspect of society among them. The instruments were few and rude, and the performance noisy and barbarous. Flutes and drums were all that they possessed in Otaheite. The flutes were made of a hollow bamboo, about a foot in length, and had only two stops, and, consequently, a number of notes so small as to exclude even the first approach to harmony. To these stops they applied the fore finger of the left hand, and the middle finger of the right; and, strange as it may appear, they blew not with the mouth, but with the nostril. The drums were made of a hollow block of wood, of a cylindrical form, solid at one end, and covered at the other with shark's skin; and were, literally, like Hudibras's

> Drum ecclesiastic,
> Beat with a fist instead of a stick.

The performers also knew how to tune two drums of different notes into concord, and to bring the flutes that played together into unison, which they effected by rolling up a leaf and slipping it over the end of the shorter, which they moved up and down like the tube of a telescope, till the instruments were harmonized, which their ear determined with great exactness. To these instruments they sung songs, which were often extempore, and generally, though not always, in rhyme.

Life in Otaheite, as also in the other islands, was one perpetual holiday. Regular toil was unnecessary and un-

known, for the earth, without the torture of cultivation, amply supplied the wants of her children. Amusements were, therefore, their chief business. They lived in one continual round of festivity, boxing, wrestling, dancing, sports, and games.

Swimming was one of the chief amusements of the natives, who seemed as much at home in the ocean as on the land. Cook thus describes one of these aquatic exhibitions. "In our way we came to one of the few places where access to the island is not guarded by a reef, and, consequently, a high surf breaks upon the shore: a more dreadful one, indeed, I had seldom seen; it was impossible for any European boat to have lived in it; and if the best swimmer in Europe had, by any accident, been exposed to its fury, I am confident that he would not have been able to preserve himself from drowning, especially as the shore was covered with pebbles and large stones; yet, in the midst of these breakers, Indians* were swimming for their amusement; whenever a surf broke near them, they dived under it, and, to all appearance, with infinite facility, rose again on the other side. This diversion was greatly improved by the stern of an old canoe, which they happened to find upon the spot. They took this before them, and swam out with it, as far as the outermost breach, and then two or three of them getting into it, and turning the square end to the breaking wave, were driven in towards the shore with incredible rapidity, sometimes almost to the beach; but generally the wave broke over them before they got half way, in which case they dived, and rose on the other side, with the canoe in their hands; they swam out with it again, and were again driven back, just as our holiday youth climb the hill in Greenwich park for the pleasure of rolling down it. At this wonderful scene we stood gazing for more than half an hour, during which time none of the swimmers attempted to come on shore, but seemed to enjoy their sport in the highest degree."†

In the Tonga group, they have a sport of a very extraor-

* An appellation frequently applied by early navigators to the islanders.

† Cook, vol. i. pp. 137, 138.

dinary character, which consists in carrying a large stone under water ten feet deep, from one post to another, at the distance of two hundred and ten feet, the party who carries the stone running along the bottom. The grand difficulty in this sport is to pursue a straight course from post to post.* This dexterity can be accounted for only in one way; they learn to swim as soon as they learn to walk. According to Morrison, these feats are not the most wonderful part of the business. He declares, that "If a shark comes in among them, they all surround him, and force him on shore, if they can but once get him into the surf, though they use no instruments for the purpose; and should he escape, they continue their sport unapprehensive of danger."† If the mutineer's veracity may be relied on, and it has never been questioned, we believe, in any point, surely the sharks of Polynesia are not like the sharks of other oceans. There it seems that sharks are not the dread and devourers of men, but men of sharks!

Next to swimming, wrestling was an amusement much practised. In this rough pastime both sexes and all ranks participated. When the mutineers resided at Otaheite, Iddeah, the queen-mother, was usually mistress of the ceremonies, and herself one of the best wrestlers on the island. This sport was not characterized by much ferocity, and defeat was attended with little disgrace. Most of the early navigators were treated, once or oftener, with an exhibition of it, which was got up after the following manner. A large area was railed in with bamboos, about three feet high, and at the upper end of it sat the chief, with several of his principal men ranged on each side of him, forming a semicircle. These were the judges by whom the victor was to be applauded. When all was ready, ten or twelve men, naked except the maro fastened about the waist, entered the area, and walked slowly round it, in a stooping posture, with their left hands on their right breasts, and their right hands open with which they frequently struck the left fore-arm, so as to produce a quick, smart sound; this was a general challenge

* Mariner, vol. ii. p. 332.

† Missionary Voyage, Appendix, p. 368.

to the combatants whom they were to engage, or any other person present. To these succeeded others in the same manner; and then a particular challenge was given, by which each man singled out his antagonist. This was done by joining the finger ends of both hands, and bringing them to the breast, at the same time moving the elbows up and down with a quick motion. If he to whom this was addressed, accepted the challenge, he repeated the signs, and immediately each put himself into an attitude to engage; the next minute they closed; but except in first seizing each other, it was a mere contest of strength, with which science had nothing to do. Each endeavoured to lay hold of the other, first by the thigh; and, if that failed, by the hand, the hair, the maro, or elsewhere as they could; then they grappled and struggled till by accident, a happy jerk, or superior force the one threw the other. When the contest was over, the old men gave their plaudits to the victor in a few words repeated together in a kind of chant, generally followed by three huzzas from the multitude. Successive couples entered the lists, till the exhibition closed. Cook observed with pleasure, that the conqueror never exulted over the vanquished, and that the vanquished never repined at the success of the conqueror. Good will and good humour reigned throughout the entire display.*

Among the islanders, as among all savages, dancing was a very favourite amusement. This seemed a subject that had been more diligently cultivated than any other of their sports. The dances were various, some of them very indecorous. The Heiva is minutely described by Cook and Morrison. It was performed by men and women in separate parties. The latter were gracefully attired, and kept exact time with the music, observing a regular movement both of hands and feet, though nothing resembling the European dances. Their dress was a long white petticoat of fine cloth, with a red border, and a red stripe about ten inches from the bottom; a kind of vest or corselet made of white or coloured cloth, came close up under the arms, and

* Cook, vol. i pp. 120, 121.

covered the breasts; to this they attached two bunches of black feathers at the point of each breast; several tassels of the same hung round the waist and fell as low as the knees. Two or three red or black feathers on each fore finger supplied the place of rings. On the back, depending from the shoulder, were fixed two large pieces of cloth, neatly plaited, like a fan, and edged with red. Their heads were ornamented with the tomou, or vast braids of human hair wrapped round like a turban, and stuck full of fragrant and beautiful flowers, intermixed with beads and shark's teeth.

A master of ceremonies directed the movements of the dancers; when the women retired, their places were supplied by a chorus, who sung with the music, or by actors, who performed pantomimes, seizing the manners of the European visitors, which they imitated in great perfection. On such occasions no man was spared; the licence which satirical poets have ever claimed, and which has very generally been granted to true genius, was fully enjoyed by the actors of Otaheite. The chiefs came in for no small share of their attention; and the satire with which they were visited, served both to check and admonish them; for when their conduct merited public exposure, the visitation was sure to follow, and the lash was applied with no trembling hand.

Any number of women might perform at once in the heivas; but the expense necessarily kept the number at a low point. Seldom more than two, or at most four, danced; and when this was done before the chief, he received the dresses as a present at the close of the exhibition. The ponnara, or evening dance, was also performed by any number of females, of any age or description, who pleased to attend at the place appointed, which was usually the cool shade. They were dressed in their best apparel, and their heads were decorated with wreaths of flowers. They divided into two equal parts, about twenty yards distant, and placing themselves in rows opposite to each other, a small green bread-fruit was brought by way of a foot-ball. The leading dancer of one party took this in her hand, and, stepping out about midway, dropped it before her, and sent it with her foot to the opposite row, returning to her place; if the ball

escaped without being arrested in its course before it touched the ground, they struck up the dance and song, beating time with their hands and feet. This lasted about five minutes, at the close of which they prepared to receive the ball from the other party, who had stood still; if they caught the ball, they returned it again; if it escaped them, the other party danced in their turn. After thus amusing themselves and the spectators for several hours, the ball was kicked away, and both parties sung and danced together.

It thus appears that the amusements of Polynesia were of a very social character. The culture of mind had not led the natives into the walks of contemplation; the numbers who had, in any measure, learned to live alone, were very few; and there was, in the bulk of the islands, perhaps, but one to whom solitude was a luxury. At Vavou, there was a man who seemed to say:—

> There is a pleasure in the pathless woods,
> There is a rapture on a lonely shore,
> There is society where none intrudes,
> By the deep Sea, and music in its roar:
> I love not man the less, but nature more,
> From these our interviews, in which I steal
> From all I may be, or have been before,
> To mingle with the Universe, and feel
> What I can ne'er express, yet cannot all conceal.

The name of this mysterious person was Tootawi, a man of reflective disposition who loved solitude, and taking provision with him, frequently sauntered among the woods and rocks for several days in succession. On one occasion he was away so long that it was feared he was no more; and a search was commenced, but Tootawi was not found. A few months afterwards some carpenters at work in the woods were suddenly surprised at the sight of the hermit, who, the moment he saw them, quickly fled, and they pursued in vain. Some time afterwards a few young females were in the woods gathering flowers, and beheld smoke rising from a cliff; excited by curiosity, they ascended certain lofty rocks, and looking down on the opposite side, espied in a small cave the figure of Tootawi, near a fire preparing yams. Fear held them mute; they quietly descended, and

ran to a neighbouring plantation informing all whom they met, of the retreat of Tootawi. His friends hastened to the spot, and before he was aware, surprised him in his cave. He gave them no welcome; he begged them to leave him alone, and resisted all their persuasions to return to them and to society. His food was yams and the juice of the cocoa-nut, and the furniture of his cave was a mat to sleep on.

From this time Tootawi became an object of curiosity, and many people went to visit him, but he was seldom "at home," and whether he had any other retreat was never known. When Finow conquered Vavou, the great warrior took a guide to conduct him to the cave of Tootawi; the hermit received the new sovereign as he did any indifferent person. Finow spoke kindly, offered him every inducement to return to society, but all in vain. Canoes, houses, plantations, were trifles in his esteem. Finow then requested him to select a wife from among his numerous female attendants; the hermit replied, that this was of all things that which he least desired. The king then gave him an unlimited choice among the whole extent of his possessions, urgently pressing him to accept of something. Thus driven, he chose a wearing mat. Some years after, he was found dead within his cave.* Has the history of mankind ever furnished so striking a parallel to the case of the Cynic and the Conqueror, Diogenes and Alexander?

* Mariner, vol. ii. p. 337.

CHAPTER VI.

MARRIAGE.

Vigilant Care of Virgins—Ceremonies of the Bridal Day—Bones of Ancestors—Sugar Cane—Mingled Blood—Polygamy—State of the Marriage Relation in Tonga—Conjugal Fidelity—Touching Instance of Affection—Terms of Separation—Domestic Authority of Husbands—Filial Obedience.

The islands of the South Seas presented woman deeply plunged in that degradation which idolatry has always imposed on the weaker sex. She was generally considered as the slave of man, and treated with indifference and contempt, and not seldom with ruthless barbarity. There was nevertheless the general observance of a marriage ceremonial of a very peculiar and most impressive character; a ceremonial which must originally have been founded in a deep conviction of the importance which attaches to the institution of matrimony. The analogy between the custom which prevailed in the principal groups of the South-Sea isles, and the general custom of Europe, is not a little remarkable. Among the middle and lower classes, matches were made by the parties themselves; but among the higher ranks they had seldom any share in the arrangements, which were conducted by their respective friends. Among the Tonga islanders, about one-third of the married women were thus betrothed; and it is probable that in other groups the proportion was not greatly different.* They were for the most part betrothed during childhood, and as the female grew up she was watched with the tenderest solicitude, and protected from temptation and danger. This was gone about with a scrupulosity which may appear excessive, but which serves to show the exquisite sense of deli-

* Mariner, vol. ii. p. 158.

cacy and honour which prevailed. A small platform was constructed for her abode within the dwelling of her parents. On this erection she slept, and spent the whole of the time she passed within doors. By night and by day she was attended by her parents or some member of the family, who supplied all her wants, and were her constant companions whenever she went abroad.

A marriage in Polynesia, as in all other countries, was a festive occasion. Among the higher ranks, provision was made for dancing and other amusements; and, for the most part, a company of Arreoies were present to diversify the scene by their fantastic exhibitions, and add to the savage rejoicing. The sanction of the gods was considered essential to the matrimonial contract; and the solemnities of the sepulchre were added to those of religion. On the morning of the marriage-day, a temporary altar was set up in the house of the bride; the relics of her ancestors, perhaps their skulls or bones, were placed upon it, and covered with fine white native cloth, presents of which, like a British bride-cake, were also given by her parents to the attendant relatives of the family. When all things were ready the parties proceeded to the *morai*, generally to that of the household, unless they were connected with the reigning family, in which case it was necessary to go to the temple of Oro or of Tane, the two chief national idols. On entering that awful place, the bride and bridegroom changed their dresses, putting on their bridal robes, which were afterwards considered sacred. They next took their stations in the places appointed for them, on their respective sides of the area, five or six yards asunder. The priest now advanced, clothed in the habiliments of his office, and standing before them, addressed the bridegroom usually in the following terms: *Eita anei oe a faarue i ta oe vahine?* That is, "Will you not cast away your wife?" The bridegroom replied, *Eita*, —"No." Turning to the bride, the priest put to her the same question, and received a similar answer. The priest then addressed them both, saying, "Happy will it be, if thus with you two." He then offered a prayer to the gods,

that they might live in affection, and realize all the happiness that the institution of marriage can impart.*

The relatives now produced a large piece of white cloth, and spread it out on the pavement of the Morai, and on this the wedded pair stood, and clasped each other by the hand. The skulls of their ancestors, who were considered the guardian spirits of the family, were sometimes brought out and placed before them. This dismal act was full of solemn import. It was vulgarly believed that the spirits of their progenitors were the guardians of the family, and this awful exhibition of their bones seemed a species of appeal to their vigilant benevolence in behalf of the newly-wedded pair. To this solemnity certain acts, of a very significant character, succeeded. The bride's relations took a piece of sugar-cane, which they wrapped in a branch of the sacred mero, and placed on the head of the bridegroom, while the couple, as above stated, stood holding each other's hands; having placed the sacred branch on his head, they laid it down between them. The husband's relatives then performed the same ceremony towards the bride. On some occasions, the female relatives on both sides cut their faces and brows with the shark's teeth, and received the flowing blood on a piece of native cloth, which they deposited at the feet of the bride. What a lesson of unity was thus read by the mingled blood of the mothers of the wedded pair! By these latter acts of the ceremony, any inferiority of rank which may have existed between the parties was removed, and they became equal; the two families also to which they respectively belonged, were ever afterwards considered as one. The whole was completed by the relatives taking a large piece of cloth called the tapoi or covering, and throwing it over the bridegroom and bride. Then followed the revel and the dance. The festivities and their accompaniments depended on the rank of the families.

* Cook states, that in Otaheite marriage appeared to be "nothing more than an agreement between the man and woman, with which the priest has no concern."—Vol. i. p. 237. Here the navigator is at issue with the missionary; but Cook only gives an opinion; Mr. Ellis states a fact.

"Such were the marriage ceremonies formerly observed among the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands. There was much in them curious and affecting, especially in the blood of their parents, and the skulls of their ancestors, presented before the parties. The one, perhaps, as the emblem of their union, and the other as witnesses of their agreement. Considering these and the other significant usages, it is truly surprising how a people, so uncivilized and rude as in many respects they certainly were, should ever have instituted observances so singular and impressive, in connexion with the marriage contract."*

The *spirit* of this touching exhibition was unfelt by the poor idolaters, and the bonds of wedlock were rendered neither more solemn nor more stringent by using these emblems of blood and death. The tie thus imposed might be snapped asunder any moment. The veriest trifle sufficed to cause or to justify a separation; but among the higher classes the relation survived after cohabitation had ceased; a circumstance fully exemplified in the case of Iddeah and Pomarre.

Polygamy prevailed to a considerable extent, throughout the tribes of Polynesia, among the chiefs, of every class. Many of them had two or three wives, who received an equal degree of respect and support. Chiefs of the highest order carried the privilege still further: theirs was rather a system of concubinage than of polygamy. The one, however, to whom the chief was first united, or whose rank was nearest to his own, was generally viewed as the wife, and the rest occupied a position which was considered inferior. Parties of equal rank, among the higher orders, often separated, when the husband took other wives, and the wife other husbands.† Among the middle and lower ranks, however, there was more virtue and more stability. Among the Tonga Islands, Mariner considers that about two-thirds of the women were married, and that of this number about one-half remained with their husbands till separated by death. Thus one-third of the females died in wedlock; the

* Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 570.
† Ibid. p. 571. Miss. Enter. pp. 322, 323.

remaining two-thirds who were marriageable, were married and soon divorced, and were married again, perhaps, three, four, or five times in their lives, with the exception of a few who, from whim or accidental causes, were never married; so that about one-third of the whole female population were at any given time unmarried.*

These facts supply a key to the true state of one chief branch of morals among the Tonga islanders, before the introduction of the Gospel of Christ; but the one half is not told. With respect to those females who were living with their husbands, fidelity was expected and enforced; but all others were very much at liberty to live and act as they pleased, and the licence seldom leaned to the side of virtue. But with respect to married men, none were understood to be bound to conjugal fidelity;† and as no nation was ever purer than its laws, so the class in question were not generally superior to their supposed obligations.

Mariner considers, that the bulk of the females who lived with husbands were faithful; and their conjugal affection is attested by the united voice of all who are conversant with the manners of Polynesia. Almost every visitor has spoken to this fact. Lieutenant Shillibeer has recorded a touching example, which occurred at Novaheevah.—Lieutenant Bennett, of the royal marines, took for his *tayo* a young man of manly stature, and of an exceedingly interesting and penetrating countenance. The youth was captivated with the navigators, who showed him much attention. He thought the country of such men must be a very fine place, and became the subject of a strong desire to see it. He was encouraged to expect the enjoyment of this felicity, by means of the ship Briton. His intention was soon communicated to his wife, a person of extraordinary beauty. The thought of the separation cut her to the heart. While the officers were walking on the beach, she came up to them in a state of frenzy, talking with inconceivable rapidity; not a word, however, could they distinguish but *vahana Picatanee*, "husband to England." She cried and laughed alternately,

* Mariner, vol. ii. p. 158.

† Ibid. p. 165. Wilson's Pelew Islands, p. 320.

tore her hair, beat her breast, threw herself on the ground, danced, sang, and, at length, in a paroxysm of despair, cut herself in several places with a shark's tooth, which, until then, she had concealed, and before they could disarm her, she had done herself considerable injury. Her distress was unabated, while the officers continued ignorant of the cause, till the arrival of Otaheitean Jack, who solved the mystery by translating her lamentations. The officers immediately attempted to banish her sorrow by the removal of its cause; they assured her that her husband should not be permitted to leave the island without her concurrence. This intimation had the desired effect; her tears subsided; she became placid and cheerful, and appeared not to notice the wounds she had inflicted with the tooth of the shark. The spectators were deeply impressed by this affecting scene, which clearly proved that the natives of the Marquesas are destitute of neither feelings nor affection.*

Separation or divorce was a very simple process, requiring neither form nor witness; one or both of the parties had simply to will it, and to give such will expression; they immediately parted, and both might marry again on the morrow.† In cases of separation, the children requiring parental care, accompanied the mother. It was a settled opinion, that it was her province to superintend their welfare till they grew up; and hence no dispute ever arose upon this head.

Domestic quarrels on any subject were seldom known; but this internal tranquillity resulted less from conjugal unanimity than from the absolute authority which every man held in his own family. So thoroughly was this point established, that even where the rank of the wife was superior to that of the husband, his will was the supreme law, even in all domestic matters, and she never thought for a moment of rebelling against it. The woman who proved refractory, and suffered in consequence from her lord, received no sympathy, unless in clear cases of cruelty, even from her own relations. Children were held in complete subjection, and filial obedience was deemed a principal virtue. ‡

* Voyage of the Briton, pp. 43, 44. † Mariner, vol. ii. p. 163. ‡ Ibid. p. 169.

CHAPTER VII.

GOVERNMENT, RANK, AND PROPERTY.

Concentration of Power—Royal Maro—Human Sacrifice—The Eye—The Feast—Royal Amusement—A Giant Prince—Iddeah's Wickedness—Rights of Chiefs—Position of Towhas—Rights of Raatiras—Duties of the Manahounes—Character of the Mahoos—Indelible Character of Chiefs—Condition of Society—Brotherly Kindness—Law of Property—The *Jus Divinum*—Regal Dignity—The Tonga Government—Pelew Islands—Importance of Central Government.

The Islands of the South Seas present a spectacle of extraordinary interest to the moral and political philosopher. While certain principles of polity are common to them all, there are striking diversities everywhere apparent. Organization existed in various degrees of completeness, and despotism in divers states of strength; and both might be taken as the index of the exact stage that a people had reached in the march towards civilization. Among the inhabitants of New Zealand, of the Marquesas, and of other isles, power was dispersed throughout a multitude of centres. There authority resided in the chiefs, who were all absolute, and in general all independent. It was otherwise in the Friendly, Society, Pelew, and Sandwich Isles, in all of which the supreme power was concentrated in one person, which exceedingly tended to the promotion of internal peace, and in many points to human improvement. In none of the islands was the science of government further advanced than in Otaheite, the economy of which may be considered as a favourable example. In respect of this famous isle, the mutineers of the Bounty communicated much valuable information, which has been corrected and supplemented by Ellis and others.

The ceremony of investing a new king with the royal *maro* or sash was as imposing as it was dreadful. It was per-

formed at the great morai at Oparre, where the public orator opened the business with a long speech, setting forth the right of Pomarre's son to the royal dignity, after which he invested him with the regal girdle, called the maro. "A human victim was sacrificed when they commenced the *fatu raa*, or manufacture of this girdle. This unhappy wretch was called the sacrifice for the *mau raa titi*, commencement or fastening on of the sacred maro. Sometimes a human victim was offered for every fresh piece added to the girdle; and when it was finished, another man, called Sacrifice for the *pin raa maro*, was slain; and the girdle was considered as consecrated by the blood of those victims. On the morning of what might be called the coronation day, when the king bathed, prior to the commencement of the ceremonies, another human victim was required in the name of the gods."* To this followed the payment of homage by successive chiefs to the young king, who was borne on a man's shoulders, and surrounded by his warriors. First of the chiefs was Motuaro, of Eimeo, who had brought in his canoes three human sacrifices to honour the occasion. From each of the murdered victims the priest scooped out an eye, which, with a long ceremonial discourse, he presented to the sovereign on a plantain leaf plucked from a young tree in his hand. The bodies were then removed and interred in the morai. This horrid homage was rendered by every chief of the several districts of Otaheite in rotation, some of whom brought one, some two human sacrifices, fixed on a long pole, and buried after the presentation of the eye. The reason assigned for this shocking oblation was, that the head being reputed sacred, and the eye its most precious part, it represented to the king the property which he now acquired in the souls and bodies of his subjects. While the eyes of the murdered victims were being successively presented to him, he held his mouth open, as if devouring them; and it was imagined that by this means he received additional wisdom and discernment, and that his tutelar deity presided in the assembly to accept the sacrifice, and,

* Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 335.

by the communication of the vital principle, to strengthen the soul of the sovereign. Hogs were strangled in immense numbers, and vast quantities of native cloth brought as presents. The royal maro, worn only on that dismal day, was deposited in its place at the morai; and the sacred canoes, which brought the human sacrifices, were hauled up to this mansion of the murdered dead. The revels then commenced. The king and chiefs departed to devour the hogs, turtle, fowls, fish, and vegetables, which had been prepared in the utmost profusion, and to drink the intoxicating cava. This savage occupation of rioting and drunkenness lasted two months, and more than one of the chiefs lost their lives as the price of their excesses.

It was a distinctive mark of regal dignity to be everywhere carried about on men's shoulders, with their legs hanging down before the breast of their bearers. It was also one of the royal amusements to pick out the vermin which abounded in the heads of those who bore them; and it was a special privilege of the queen, that, of all women, she alone might eat them—a privilege of which she—*horribile dictu*—always availed herself to the utmost. The royal pair might not enter into any house but their own, since from that moment it would have become raa or sacred, and none but themselves or their train could dwell or eat there. A like reason prevented their walking; for the land on which they trod would become their property. On their own grounds they sometimes condescended to alight and walk. Their majesties were always attended by a number of men, as carriers, domestics or favourites, who were also raa, living without families, and attending only on the royal pair. This knot of persons were not surpassed in the island for theft, plunder, and profligacy.

First in rank after Otoo, the king, was his own father, Pomarre, who acted as regent for his son. He was the largest man on the island, being six feet four inches, and strongly built. The tallest man in the Duff hardly reached his shoulders; and he possessed corporeal weight equal to that of three or four ordinary men. This savage giant, however, was no warrior: his wife Iddeah, a real Amazon,

greatly excelled him in military prowess. The state of that princely couple, as already hinted, served to illustrate the morals of their class. They had ceased to cohabit, and yet lived in harmony. He took first her younger sister to wife, and then another woman; and she had several children by one of her own servants, all of whom, as has appeared in the narrative of the first voyage, were murdered as soon as born, in conformity with the rules of the arreoy society.

The second in dignity were the Chiefs of the several districts: some of these were supreme in more than one district; and in their own territories they exercised regal power; yet they were still subject to Otoo as sovereign paramount, and in all emergencies were liable to be called upon for assistance. They had also houses and lands in many districts, which, unable to occupy them themselves, they committed to the care of superintendents, called meduas, or gave them to their tayos, who enjoyed the entire produce without any accountability, only they shared it with the chiefs when they happened to visit their estates.

The third in dignity were the Towhas, who were the near relations, the younger brothers, or the tayos of the chiefs. The Towhas were persons of some importance; for where there were more chiefs than one, the district was divided into different padtdoos or parishes, and each chief had Towhas under him.

The fourth in dignity were the Raatiras, or gentlemen, who had one portion of territory to the Towha's three. These smaller estates were called rahooe, from the power the Raatiras had to lay a prohibition on their own land, or on any particular sort of provision—a power, however, only enjoyed in common with the Towha, over his portion of three parts to one; with the Chief, over the whole of his district; and with the King, over the entire island. While this prohibition was in force, the object interdicted could not be used. This interdict was usually laid after a great consumption of some one or more articles of provision, till they should grow again, or to accumulate them for some particular feast, or to punish and starve off navigators who had offended.*

* This explains Captain Wilson's fears and precautions, as set forth in p. 340.

The fifth and lowest class in dignity after the Raatira, were the Manahoune. This class of persons cultivated the land, and most resembled the peasantry of Britain. They held under the Towhas and Raatiras, and answered all their demands to the best of their ability. They made cloth for them; they built their houses, and assisted in all manner of laborious work. Yet their vassalage obliged them to no constant service or residence; they might change chiefs and go to another district; but their condition and duties remained the same. Servants, of whatever class, were called Toutou; and such as wait wholly on the women, Tuti.

To all these were added a set of vile miscreants—men of the most execrable description—called Mahoos, who affected the dress, manners, gesture, and voice of females, and yielded themselves to practices too horrible for description.

Such was the scale of rank among those celebrated islanders; but the most marvellous part of the history still remains to be told. The terms on which ranks met, mingled, and lived together, presented much that is equally astonishing and beautiful. Never were the privileges of classes found to be less conflicting, or more compatible with universal sympathy and the common good. A chief remained a chief to the end of his days; though his command might be withdrawn, or his district forfeited, or his honours transferred to his child, he continued noble and respected; he could not sink into the mass of the commonalty. On the other hand, nothing could raise a common man to a higher station than that of a Towha, or a Raatira; and yet the meanest were wholly exempt from slavish dependence. The chief, at the same time, was sustained in the enjoyment of his honours and privileges less by the fear of punishment than by the power of habit, and the authority of unquestioned usage. The deportment of the chiefs also contributed much to their hold on the mind of the nation. There was no cold reserve—no proud contempt—no feudal lordliness among this privileged class, to excite disgust or create alienation. The common people were on all occasions admitted as their companions, and enjoyed the most perfect freedom; in outward appearance and social intercourse, indeed, they could hardly be distinguished. The king himself con-

versed freely with the humblest of his subjects, and was not ashamed to be their visitor, never treating them with contempt, or even with negligence. The royal retinue was often changing; for no man served his sovereign longer than he pleased. Those who resided in the higher families had no wages, nor were they engaged for any stated time; some, nevertheless, remained all their lives in the same establishment, and these ancient domestics were as much respected as their own relations; they even ruled the younger branches, and, without control, managed as stewards the affairs of the household.

To all practical intents, community of goods obtained among them. They hardly refused anything to the importunity of their neighbours. In voluntary presents they were liberal even to profusion. Unavoidable poverty subjected no man to contempt; but covetousness subjected the affluent to the utmost shame and reproach. On this point a law of discipline obtained, which would make sad work in some countries. If any man, through incorrigible avarice, refused to share his wealth in a season of necessity, his neighbours applied a ready remedy—they divested him of all that he possessed, placed him on a level with the humblest, and hardly left him a house to cover his head. These children of nature gave their all rather than be called *peere, peere,* or niggard.

With respect to property, in the absence of writing or records, they had recourse to memory or landmarks. Every man knew his own, and any attempt to remove the landmark was considered an act of peculiar atrocity. In cases of dispute the matter was referred, and the award binding; and the loser made the gainer a peace-offering of the plantain stalk. Reference was a cherished method of settling disputes. Men seldom fought in consequence of personal quarrels. On occasion of serious offence, a whole family, and sometimes even a district, would take the matter up, and war would ensue; but if the party assailed did not choose to fight, he had only to make a peace offering, which was never refused; otherwise both parties abode by the issue of the conflict.

Property descended; and the child from the moment of its birth became the head of the family. The boundaries of his land were now marked with rude images; and if the infant was a Towha or Raatira, a number of little flags were set up in different parts of the boundary, to which all persons of inferior rank were bound to do homage as they passed, whether by day or by night. In the event of ascertained neglect, the mother flew to the shark's teeth and cut herself, and the party had to make his peace-offering with the plantain. On a refusal of this, the parents would endeavour to inflict punishment on him. Friends and relations on both sides sometimes armed, and consequences both extended and fatal occasionally followed. Even a chief has been known to be driven from his district on account of a dispute originating about a poor man's child.

These general views of Otaheite, originally supplied by the able mutineer Morrison, and confirmed in all main points by subsequent witnesses, exhibit, in substance, the state of society in the other principal groups. The doctrine of the *jus divinum* of kings triumphed in Polynesia. The church of idolatry was everywhere incorporated with the state, and the principle which regulated the economy was very flexible. The office of high priest often united with that of king. The sovereign sometimes, indeed, in true papal style, even filled the throne of the deity where he received homage, and heard prayer. Some kings claimed for their line antiquity extending to the beginning of things; and others claimed descent from the gods. The royal person was everywhere sacred. The regal office was hereditary, and descended from the father to the eldest son, but females might inherit, and islands had often been governed by a queen. The father invariably abdicated on the birth of his son, who was immediately proclaimed sovereign of the people, and his father was the first to do him homage. The father continued to govern as regent, but the infant monarch received the lands and revenues of the crown, and all edicts were issued in his name. A course analogous prevailed among the highest ranks, the Huiarii and the Raatiras.

One of the most remarkable features of the polity of the

principal group of the South Seas, was their respect for authority. We scarcely find anything even approaching to it in the whole circle of either civilized or barbarous nations. The term "sacred," as applied to majesty, was no vain expression, but full of import as associated with the naked potentates of Polynesia. No one might even touch the person of the king or queen, and the slightest freedom with it exposed the party to death; it was in some groups a capital offence to walk in their shadow! The ground on which they might happen to tread even by accident, or the house they might enter even from necessity, became sacred, and must be vacated by its occupants, and henceforward appropriated to their sole use. The same principle applied to their porters who bore them on land, and the canoes which carried them by sea; and even the sounds which composed their names could no longer be applied to ordinary significations.* This homage required no artificial stay; the king never wore any badge of dignity, and for the most part there was no difference between his dress and that of the chiefs by whom he was surrounded, except that the cloth and matting were more rare and costly; but his raiment was frequently inferior to that worn by his attendant chieftains.† His greatness was inherent and independent of external trappings.

Perhaps, all things considered, the government of the Tonga Islands was the most vigorous and orderly. The How or King, the Egi or Nobles, the Matabooles, the Mooas, and the Tooas, formed a gradation of rank which constituted a tower of strength.‡ The monarchy was there surrounded with powerful checks. Next to the government of Tonga, for strength and order, was that of the Pelew Islands. Abba Thulle the king, at the time of their discovery, although surrounded by none of the external decorations of royalty, was treated with a reverence which could not be exceeded. Next to him was the Commander-in-chief of the forces; then came the Minister of the King; and, lastly, the Rupacks, chiefs who formed a species of nobles. The king's commands seemed absolute, but he took no step

* See Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 348. † Ibid. p. 360.
‡ Mariner, vol. ii. pp. 81—87.

of importance without assembling the chiefs. The Rupacks consisted of two orders, the highest was the Order of the Bone, which was conferred by the king as a reward for extraordinary services. The Order of the Bone were always summoned to the king's councils; they paid him the profoundest respect; and they were themselves much honoured by the people.*

The isles of the Pacific strikingly exemplify the Apostolic declaration, that government is the ordinance of God. They show that it is the offspring of necessity, and absolutely essential to the existence of society. They also demonstrate the vast importance of general as well as local government, and that the latter not only checks and controls, but supports the former. In the less advanced isles, where there is no general government, society is found to be only in the first stage of political organization. The honest chief as truly as beautifully accounted to Williams for the atrocious conduct of the people at Mangaia, when, with tears, he said, "all heads are of an equal height."†

* Wilson's Pelew Islands, p. 297. † Miss. Ent. p. 80.

CHAPTER VIII.

WAR AND PEACE.

Human Sacrifices—Functions of the Priests in relation to War—Battle Orators—Wars of Extermination—Veeson's History—Finow's Prayer—Shooting of a Maniac—A Monster—The Murdered Crew—Refined Methods of Slaughter—Murder of Four Men—Dreadful Destruction of Eighteen Men—The Sorrowing Parent—The Patriot—The Fiend—Royal and Philosophic Speech.

War is both the offspring and the punishment of sin. It has in all ages been the delight and the chief employment of savage men. The Isles of the South were steeped in blood. During the first fifteen years of the Mission to Otaheite, that island was involved in actual war no less than ten times! Human slaughter was a chief element of their worship. Oro, the god of war, was the deity most intensely worshipped, and a very Moloch, ever thirsting for blood. He so delighted in human gore, according to the doctrine of his devotees, that he would accept no victim which had not first been bathed in the stream of its own life! When the subject of war began to be agitated, Oro received a human sacrifice; when war was publicly declared, a second victim died; when the instruments of death were ready, a third bled!

On the breaking out of war, the king's herald went through the island, and called the fighting men to arms. The priests of idolatry were full of activity, while the chiefs and leaders were engaged in the preliminaries of destruction. The great object of the priests was to enlist the gods on the side of their country, and for their services in this respect a large price was paid. They received a second and a third payment to persevere in their sacred supplications. Assuming the success of their prayers, a residence was erected for the gods and spirits who were expected to fight for them, and

another victim was offered on the sanguinary altars of idolatry. The flags of the gods were carried to the battle-field that the sight of them might inspire the warriors with more than mortal courage.

The savage groups of fighting men were marshalled by the principal leader, and, on a given signal, they rushed to the conflict with shouts, yells, and imprecations. The furious and maddened clamour was much increased by the battle orators; who were generally men of goodly stature and great personal bravery. They supplied the place of the spirit-stirring fife and drum, and the piercing clangour of the martial trumpet. Previous to the joining of battle, as well as in the heat of conflict, these men ran through the camp, and by every topic of persuasion they inflamed the courage and patriotism of the warriors. These orators, who are called Rautis, sustained a very arduous office. When battles were protracted through several days, so intense have been their efforts, by night and by day, that they have been known to expire of exhaustion. Clubs and spears were the principal weapons used in these barbarous wars. Science, in most cases, had but a small place in the contest; in many islands they used neither shield nor buckler, nor any artificial means of self-defence. They believed that the gods were with them, and that, with an unseen hand, they guided the dart and spear. It was a rude contest of brute strength and impetuous ferocity.*

The spirit in which the wars of Polynesia were carried on, was in conformity with the sanguinary rites which accompanied their preparation. There were no bounds to their rage and vengeance. When the foe had fallen or fled, and blood had ceased to flow in the field, the victors frequently carried the work of destruction to the utmost limits of practicability. Hoary hairs, helpless infancy, and weeping widowhood were mowed down without distinction, without sympathy, and without remorse. History presents few pictures of human carnage more dreadful than those which were exhibited in the isles of the Southern Ocean. The frequent object of

* See Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. pp. 477—489.

their wars was not redress of a grievance, or measured revenge for an injury, or the extension of authority by conquest, but utterly to exterminate the population of an island, and render it incapable of being the residence of man. "This design, horrid as it is, has been literally accomplished; every inhabitant of an island, excepting the few that may have escaped by flight in their canoes, has been slaughtered; the bread-fruit trees have been cut down, and left to rot; the cocoa-nut trees have been killed by cutting off their tops or crown, and leaving the stems in desolate leafless ranks, as if they had been shivered by the lightning." *

There was nothing generous or gallant in the wars of Polynesia; they were a system of ruthless butchery, of horrid carnage. Notwithstanding the large number of Europeans who have, at various times, and in divers groups, participated in those sanguinary enterprises, few have recorded the scenes which they witnessed. Veeson did not see war in its more hideous forms; but the account which he gives is such as to make the blood of the reader run cold.† No European resident in Polynesia has thrown so much light on this subject as Mariner.‡ Men of his order and in his position, had advantages, in relation to the native wars, such as no Missionary could ever possess. He took on all occasions a leading share in council and in fight; he resided in one of the principal groups during one of the most interesting periods of its history, and had for his patron one of the most renowned destroyers of men.

Mariner has amply shown, that the spirit of destruction was the ruling spirit of the body of the chiefs. The most celebrated kings were a mere impersonation of the spirit of slaughter. Finow, the conqueror of the Hapai Islands, was the type of his order, and the faithful representative of his heroic predecessors. This extraordinary man, after oc-

* Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 494.

† See Narrative, pp. 158—178.

‡ Dr. Martin did excellent service to Letters and Religion, to Moral and Political Philosophy, by the publication of Mariner's papers and communications.

casionally conversing with Mariner on the power and greatness of the English, would break out in such strains as the following:—"Oh that the gods would make me King of England! There is not an island in the whole world, however small, but what I would then subject to my power! The King of England does not deserve the dominion he enjoys; possessed of so many great ships, why does he suffer such petty islands as those of Tonga continually to insult his people with acts of treachery? Were I he, would I send tamely to *ask* for yams or pigs? No! I would come with the front of battle; and with the thunder of Bolatane!* I would show who ought to be chief. None but men of enterprising spirit should be in possession of guns; let such rule the earth, and be those their vassals who can bear to submit to such insults unrevenged!"

There is a loftiness approaching to the sublime about this burst of savage ambition. It exhibits a general principle, which, apart from the details of war, and blood, and murder, is calculated to deceive, and to captivate. The following fact exhibits the man upon a smaller scale, and brings out the truth more clearly. In the island of Lefooga there lived a woman who, for many years, had been afflicted with insanity, brought on by excessive grief, partly occasioned by the death of a relative, but chiefly by her child being taken from her to be strangled as an offering to the gods, for the recovery of his sick father. Finow, desirous again to witness the effect of a musket-ball, desired Mariner to shoot her. He declined, and stated his reasons. Some days after, however, as the poor maniac walked on the beach, Finow ordered a Sandwich islander who was at hand with his musket, to shoot her. She was just in the act of picking up a shell, as the bullet pierced her, when she screamed out, and, springing several feet from the ground, fell into the sea.† Such was the spirit of Finow the king, and his subjects were every way worthy of him. The fol-

* The front or fore part of battle was a very usual expression among them. Thunder was the term they used for the noise of guns; and Bolatane was their mode of pronouncing Britain.—Mariner, vol. i. p. 406.

† Vol i. pp. 84—86.

lowing facts will serve to illustrate their character in respect to barbarous war.

Mariner's first lesson was one of a dreadful description, received on board the "Port au Prince," at the island of Lefooga. When the natives seized the ship, Mariner and the cooper were below in the gun-room, and on ascending to the deck, the first object that his eyes fixed on was a short squab naked figure, of about fifty years of age, sitting on the companion, with a seaman's jacket soaked in blood, thrown over one shoulder, while on the other rested his iron-wood club, spattered with blood and brains, and the frightful aspect of this savage was much aggravated by the constant blinking of one of his eyes, and a horrible convulsive motion of one side of his mouth. The next spectacle that he beheld, was that of the murdered crew, for all on board were slain except himself and the cooper. There, like sheep in a slaughter-house, lay naked and in even order side by side, twenty-two bodies, with their heads bruised and battered in a manner so dreadful and shocking to behold, that only two or three of them could be recognized. On being taken ashore he observed lying stripped on the beach Brown, the master of the vessel, and round a fire at a little distance three more of the seamen, all murdered and disfigured in the same manner.*

The complete conquest of the Hapai Islands by Finow was followed by a striking exhibition of cold-blooded and studied cruelty. In the great and decisive battle which finished the war, a number of chiefs and Matabooles were made prisoners; the savage victor determined to remove them out of the way, and to prevent all attempts on their part for the recovery of the liberties of their country. Some were sent on board old and useless canoes, which were then scuttled and immediately sunk; others were taken several leagues out to sea, and, tied hand and foot, were put in old leaky canoes, and there left to perish by degrees. The most brave and patriotic men, who were the principal subjects of the conqueror's hatred, and marked out for special ven-

* Mariner, vol. i. pp. 45—48.

geance, were destined to a more refined species of destruction. They were taken to the island of Lofanga, and there tied naked to stakes driven in the ground, or to the trunks of trees, and left to perish with hunger. Here they were exposed to the burning heat of the sun and to the wanton cruelty of the natives, who thrust splinters of wood into their bodies, and exhibited food before their eyes without permitting them to taste it. They bore their torments with the utmost fortitude; some of them died on the third or fourth, and others, strange to say, lingered on till the eighth day! The hapless isle, degraded by this inhuman torture, ever after stood arrayed in the mantle of terror to the imaginations of the benighted natives. They believed that they heard the groans of the dying at the dead of night, amid the roarings of the distant surf, or of the sea in subterraneous caverns.*

On one occasion during war, a party of twelve or fourteen of Finow's people, among whom was Mariner, surprised four of the enemy,—supposed to be Mateita, a great warrior, and some of his men,—digging *Ma* in a pit, and dragged them out that they might lead them off as prisoners. A young chief, however, objected, and, as a better measure, proposed to decapitate them at once and to take their heads home. The plan was approved, but one observed that they had no knives, when another perceiving on the ground a quantity of oyster-shells, suggested them as a fit substitute. The rest concurred, and the work of mangling and torture began. In vain did the victims beg their lives, and protest that they were not the persons they had been taken for; and in vain, too, did Mariner remonstrate against the bloody crime. They began the brutal operation with the shells, by haggling at the back of the neck; they then cut or mangled gradually round the throat, till they had severed every thing but the spine, which they divided by turning the head round, and giving it a violent twist. The four heads were then carried to the garrison, and placed in the middle of the circle upright with their faces towards Finow

* Mariner, vol. i. pp. 76—79.

the king, who was sitting with his chiefs drinking cava, and who returned his cordial thanks to the murderers for their magnanimous deed.*

These horrid illustrations of the spirit of the people may be appropriately concluded by an instance of Finow their sovereign's treachery to the people of Vavou, just after their subjugation. A general assembly of the natives was summoned by the king to Macave, to hear a proclamation about certain matters of agriculture and government. A large supply of cava as usual was provided, in the preparation of which the chiefs and warriors of Vavou, to show their loyalty to their new king, took a very active part. After the first bowl was drained off, and while the assembly were expecting the royal mandate for a further supply, on a sudden Finow cried *boogi!*—hold, arrest! In an instant all the chiefs and warriors who had been distinguished by patriotism, and by their consequent zeal and bravery against him in the late war, were seized by persons appointed for that purpose. Their hands were tied fast behind them, and they were taken down to the beach, where, with a club, some were immediately slain, and the remainder were reserved till the afternoon, for what was considered a more signal punishment. Those were taken out to sea, and sunk in old leaky canoes. About mid-day a large canoe, having on board three old small canoes, leaky and rotten, for sinking the prisoners, put out to sea. The victims, eighteen in number, were on board the large vessel tied hand and foot. Before they arrived at the place of the ocean appointed for their destruction, the greater part of them begged, that the manner of their death might be changed to the more expeditious one of having their brains knocked out with a club, or their skulls cleaved with an axe. The dread request was granted, and the work of execution immediately begun. Twelve were thus slain; but the remaining six, who were chiefs, and men who had been distinguished for extraordinary bravery, scorned to ask aught as a favour at the hand of so treacherous a foe, and

* Mariner, vol. i. pp. 199, 200.

were accordingly carried out to sea, lashed in two rotten canoes, three in each, and left to sink amid the waves; Finow's people remaining in the large canoe at a little distance, to enjoy the luxury of seeing them descend into the deep!

The scene that followed was diversified,—it was a mingled exhibition of paternal tenderness, patriotic bravery, and most fierce and fiend-like malignity! Booboonoo said, that the only cause of his infelicity arose from thoughts of his infant son, whom his death would leave friendless and unprotected. The sorrowing parent called to a young chief, in the large canoe, one of Finow's men, named Tolo, imploring him for the sake of their gods, that he would befriend his child, and never see him want either clothes or food, suitable to the son of a chief. Tolo gave his solemn promise that it should be as requested, and the drowning warrior sunk satisfied. Nowfaho lamented the sad disasters of that day; he deplored that so many brave men were dying an ignominious death, who had but lately made the whole army of Finow to tremble. He grieved that he had ever retreated from his enemies, and wished he had faced about, and sold his life at the highest price, instead of living a little longer to die a death so shameful, and so unworthy of a warrior and a lover of his country. He earnestly requested to be most affectionately remembered to his wife. Cacahoo, a man endowed with the strength and courage of a lion, and who had been mastered only by treachery under the mask of friendship, spent his time in showering oaths and curses on the faithless head of Finow and all the chiefs of Hapai. He imprecated the utmost dishonour on the names of their progenitors, and heaped maledictions upon all their generations. He went on in this manner, cursing and swearing at his enemies, till the sinking canoe brought the water up to his mouth, and even after it arose so high that suffocation began to ensue, mustering all his energy to elevate his head once more, he vomited yet another and another curse, spluttering the water forth from his polluted lips, till, rising still higher, it quenched for ever the flames

of that tongue which had defiled the whole body, and been "set on fire of hell."* The work of death being finished, the executioners and witnesses returned to Vavou.†

The days of Finow drew to an end, and his son inherited his title and his kingdom. This son was not altogether unworthy to have descended from the best of kings and the wisest of men. After the funeral, there was a general assembly of the chiefs and Matabooles, who hailed and recognised the prince as their new sovereign. The brave but wise youth seemed to set very light by the power thus conferred upon him; but subsequently rising, he addressed them in a speech such as has seldom issued from the lips of European monarchs or of their ministers—a speech which supplies at once an example and a reproach to every order of kings and statesmen. Their so-called Christian majesties may there contemplate a lesson of wisdom, patriotism, and philanthropy, such as the heads of sages have seldom conceived, and the tongues of courtly preachers have not often uttered! It is only of *late* that the senates of civilized nations have listened to anything possessing half the excellence of the oration of this island king to his naked chiefs and warriors! Hear the youthful sage:—

"Listen to me, chiefs and warriors!—If any among you are discontented with the present state of affairs, now is the time to go to Hapai; for no man shall remain at Vavou with a mind discontented and wandering to other places. I have seen with sorrow the wide-spread destruction occasioned by the unceasing war carried on by the chief now lying in the *malai*. We have indeed been doing a great deal, but what is the result? The land is depopulated! it is overgrown with weeds, and there is nobody to cultivate it. Had we remained peaceful, it would have been populous still. The principal chiefs and warriors are fallen, and we must be contented with the society of the lower class.

"What madness! Is not life already too short? Is it not a noble characteristic in a man to remain happy and peaceful in his station? What folly, then, to seek for war

* See James, chapter iii. ver. 1—9.

† Mariner, vol. i. pp. 275—284.

to shorten that which is already *too* short! Who is there among us that can say, 'I wish to die—I am weary of life?' Have we not then been acting like those of no understanding? Have we not been madly seizing the very thing which deprives us of what we *really want?* Not that we ought to banish all thoughts of fighting! If any power approach us with the front of battle, and attempt to invade *our rights*, our fury and bravery shall be excited more, in proportion as we have more possessions to defend. Let us, therefore, confine ourselves to the culture of the ground, for that is truly guarding our country. Why should we be anxious for an increase of territory? Our land is quite large enough to supply us with food; we shall not even be able to devour all its produce!

"But perhaps I am not speaking to you wisely! The old Matabooles are present; I beg them to tell me if I am wrong. I am yet but a youth; and, on that account, should be unfit to govern, if my mind, like that of the deceased chief, sought not the advice of others. For your loyalty and fidelity towards him, however, I return you my sincere thanks. Finow Fiji,* who is present, and the Matabooles, know well my frequent inquiries concerning the good of our government. Do not then say, '*Wherefore do we listen to the idle talk of a boy?*' Recollect, whilst I speak to you, my voice is the echo of the sentiments of Toe Oomoo, and Oooloovaloo, and Afoo, and Tatoo, and Alo, and all the high chiefs and Matabooles of Vavou.

"Listen to me! I remind you, that, if there be any among you discontented with this state of affairs, the present is the only opportunity I will give to depart; for let this occasion pass, and we shall not at all henceforth communicate with Hapai. Choose, therefore, your dwelling-places! There is Fiji,—there is Hamoa,—there is Tonga,—there is Hapai,—there is Fatoona, and Latooma!

"Those men, in particular, having minds unanimous, loving to dwell in constant peace,—they *alone* shall remain at Vavou and its neighbouring isles. Yet will I not sup-

* His uncle.

press the bravery of any one warlike spirit. Behold! the islands of Tonga and Fiji are constantly at war; let him there display his courage. Arise! Go to your respective habitations; and recollect, that to-morrow the canoes depart for Hapai."

Such is the speech of Finow the Second. How forcible are right words! The most savage assembly cannot wholly resist them! This address was universally admired, and was in every mouth for a long period.* Mr. Mariner had in a manner learned it off by heart, and has in it given a treasure to the world. This prince was at that time in advance of nearly the whole civilized world, in his views of the true glory of man, and the true wisdom of nations.

* See Mariner, vol. i. pp. 397—399; and also vol. ii., to which a literal translation of the speech, with the text, is subjoined, at the end of the Tonga grammar.

CHAPTER IX.

CANNIBALISM.

Cannibal Habits of Antiquity—Of later Times—Horrid Habits of the Anzigues—The Captive Child—Causes of Cannibalism—Results of Cannibalism—Shocking Spectacle—Habits of New Zealand—Voracity of the Eastern Polynesians—Cannibalism of the Tongans—Great Cannibal Feast.

Homer, the father of poetry, who is the highest heathen authority respecting the usages of ancient times, represents the Cyclops, the Lestrygons, and Scylla, all as devourers of men; and this, like the other parts of his poetry, must have had its foundation in the customs of a period antecedent to his own. His great countryman Herodotus, the father of Gentile history, states that, among the Essedonian Scythians, when a man's father died, the neighbours assembled, bringing with them several animals, which they killed; and then mixed up their flesh with that of the deceased, and made a feast. Among the Massagetæ, when a person became old, he was slain, and his body eaten, but if he died of sickness they buried him. According to the same author several nations in the Indies slew all their aged people, and also their sick, and fed upon their flesh. He adds, that persons in health were sometimes accused of being sick, to afford a pretence for devouring them. Sextus Empiricus, indeed, asserts, that the first laws that were made, were for the prevention of this barbarous practice, which the Greek writers affirm to have been universal before the time of Orpheus.*

In later ages, the Waygannas, the Tartars, the Cathayans, the Imbians, the Giacchians, the inhabitants of Carnalcubar, of Java, of Carthagena, of St. Martha, of the Brazils, and of the Cannibal Isles, all shared in the bar-

* See Art. Anthropophagi, Ency. Brit.

barous custom; but the palm of brutal ferocity was borne away by the Anzigues, who occupied the territory between Zayre and Nubia. Other nations ate only their enemies or their dead, but these people devoured their kindred and one another, as well as strangers, slaves, and enemies. They kept shambles for the sale of human flesh, as other nations did for beef and mutton! They slew and sold their slaves, on the ground that, when cut up, they would bring more than if taken alive to the market. To such a pitch did the infatuation arise, that many even gave themselves to be slaughtered and devoured. Some did this from weariness of life, some to show their courage and contempt of death, and others from a spirit of spurious loyalty, that their princes might feed upon them, and thus be benefited by them, not only in life but after death.*

In modern times, New Zealand stands first among the islands of the Pacific for the cannibal propensities of its people. New Zealand is not, however, the only group where this shocking habit prevails. It is certain that the Marquesans belong to the same revolting fellowship, as do also the inhabitants of the Pearl islands. In relation to which it has been stated by recent visitors, that a captive female child pining with hunger, on begging a morsel of food from the ruthless invaders of her native isle, received at their hands a piece of her own father's flesh! Most of the Hervey islanders have been addicted to the same foul practice.†

Several reasons have been assigned for cannibalism, all of which appear, in their respective degrees, to hold good. The first of these is hunger combined with lack of sustenance. Cook maintains that such was its origin in New Zealand. He considers, that from this, in no small measure, result their incessant wars, and their anthropophagism. In the Captain's opinion, the hunger of the man who is pressed by famine to fight will absorb every feeling and sentiment, which would restrain him from allaying it with

* Vincent, lib. xxx. cap. 70. Middleton's Voyage, of 1609. Lopez, lib. i. cap. 5. Purchas, pp. 877, 985, 987, 1011, 1013, 1027, 1084.

† Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 222.

the body of his adversary. This, however, is only the beginning of the mischief; for while the practice has been commenced on the one side by hunger, it will naturally be adopted on the other by revenge. Nor is this all; the practice manifestly tends to eradicate a principle, which is the chief security of human life, and more frequently restrains the hand of murder than the sense of duty, or even the fear of either human or divine punishment. Among a people who are accustomed to banquet on the bodies of men, mortality has lost its horror; and where there is no horror at the sight of death, there will be little repugnance to slaughter. In the corrupt heart of man, a sense of duty, and the dread of punishment, are more easily surmounted than obstacles which arise from the feelings of nature, or which have been ingrafted upon nature by early prejudice, and nourished by usage. Men who have been accustomed to prepare a human body for a meal cannot long retain horror at the perpetration of a murder. *

On Cook's first visit to New Zealand, in almost every cove where he and his people landed, they found the bones of men near the places where fires had been made.† On his second voyage, he made further discoveries respecting this inhuman habit. Some of his officers, going on shore to amuse themselves among the natives, saw the head and bowels of a youth lying on the beach, and the heart stuck on a forked stick, which was fixed to the head of one of the largest canoes. One of the gentlemen bought the head, and brought it on board, where a piece of the flesh was broiled and eaten by one of the natives, before all the officers and most of the men. The captain was on shore at the time, but on returning, he found the quarter-deck crowded with natives, and the mangled head lying on the tafferel. The skull had been broken on the left side, just above the temples, and the remains of the face had the appearance of a youth about twenty. The sight of the head, and the relation of the above circumstance, struck him with horror. Curiosity, however, got the better of wrath, and being desirous to establish a fact which many had doubted, he ordered a piece

* See Cook, vol. ii. p. 35. † Ibid. p. 55.

of the flesh to be broiled and brought to the quarter-deck, where one of the cannibals ate it with surprising avidity. This disgusting sight had such an effect upon some of his people as to overcome them with sickness. From that time the cannibal habits of the New Zealanders, the presumptive evidence of which in the former voyage had by many been discredited, were fully ascertained and proved. These people understood not the royal law; they treated others not as they themselves wished, but as they expected to be treated. When remonstrated with regarding this enormity, they would mildly answer, "Can there be any harm in eating our enemies whom we have killed in battle? Would not those very enemies have done the same to us?" and when abhorrence was manifested, they only laughed at their censors.*

Hunger was not the only inducement which led the New Zealanders to eat human flesh. They considered that the qualities of the mind resided in the body, and that to eat the latter, was to inherit the former. On this ground they greatly rejoiced in a banquet on the body of a celebrated warrior; his flesh was peculiarly sweet, from the belief that they should thus be filled with his heroic virtues. It is not ascertained that this was the motive that impelled the eastern Polynesians. Theirs was a war of voracity; their object was to catch men for meat! The thought of human flesh was to them a very animating consideration, and supplied the theme of mutual exhortation. When clearing the brushwood and jungle where they expected to meet a foe, they would say, "Clear away well, that we may kill and eat, and have a good feast to day."† Seasons of severe famine often occurred in Maute, Mitiaro, and Atiu, which led to scenes of indescribable horror. A number of individuals would start at the dead of night, repair to a neighbouring residence, take a man, kill and eat him before the morning. Members of the same family were not safe; the sanctuary of wedded love furnished no protection. The husband has devoured the wife, and the parent the child![‡]

* Cook, vol. iii. p. 250.

† Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 223.

‡ Ibid. p. 223.

Mariner has testified to the cannibalism of the Tongans. During a war in which he fought, a proposition was made in his presence to kill a body of prisoners, to prevent their escape, and then to roast and eat them. Some of the captives, accordingly, were quickly despatched; their flesh was cut up into small portions, washed with sea-water, wrapped up in plantain leaves, and roasted under hot stones; several were embowelled and baked whole, the same as a pig. Mariner was starving of hunger, all sorts of provisions were quite exhausted, and the boats which had gone to Hapai in quest of more had not returned; but even the urgency of famine did not induce him to touch the horrid viands. The canoes still delayed their return with food, and the distress of those who did not eat human flesh was very great. Mariner had been nearly three days without touching food, when passing by a house where something was being cooked, he walked in, expecting somewhat to supply the cravings of hunger, if it were only a piece of a rat. On inquiry he was told he might have a bit of pork, and a person handed him a portion of liver which he eagerly seized and was raising it to his mouth, when he discovered by the fellow's smile that it was that of a human body! Overcome by disgust, he threw it in the face of the giver, who only laughed, and asked if it were not better to eat good meat than to die of hunger!

When Cook first visited the Tonga islands cannibalism was scarcely thought of among them; but the Fiji people soon taught them this as well as other evils; and a famine which happened some time afterwards, supplied strong inducements to resort to this mode of existence. On that occasion they waylaid and murdered one another for food! They still tell an anecdote of four brothers, who, in this season of scarcity, invited their aunt to come and partake of a large yam, which they professed to have secretly procured. The poor, unsuspecting woman rejoiced at the prospect of even a mouthful of subsistence; and, pleased with the kindness of her nephews, went to the house, where she was speedily slain and devoured!* This brutal custom, how-

* Mariner, vol. i. p. 210.

ever, has never generally prevailed among the Tonga islanders.

The Fiji islands, next to those of New Zealand, have long been distinguished for ferocity and cannibal practices; and, according to Cow Mooala, the island of Navihi Levoo is the most ferocious of the whole group; its inhabitants are more expert in war and more addicted to the eating of human flesh than any other people among the Fiji isles. Cow Mooala also records a cannibal feast, on a large scale, which took place at Chichia, and of which he was a partaker. This diabolical banquet succeeded a battle and a victory. It was introduced by a dance and a drinking-match, after which the cooks brought forward the feast. They advanced two and two, each couple bearing on their shoulders a basket, in which was the body of a man barbacued like a hog. The bodies were placed before the chief, who sat at the head of the company on a large green. The viands of this dreadful revel comprised *two hundred* human bodies, two hundred hogs, two hundred baskets of yams, and a like number of fowls! *

* Mariner, vol. i. pp. 333, 334.

CHAPTER X.

POLYNESIAN GODS, IDOLS, AND WORSHIP.

Darkness of Polynesia—Supreme Deity—Trinity in Unity—Idolatry of the East—Taaroa and his Offspring—Glimpse of Truth—Shark Worship—Minor Deities—Gods of Mischief—Gods of Tonga—Human Sacrifice—Intense Devotion—Old Things giving place to new.

The mythology of the South Sea islanders was more than ordinarily complex, confused, and contradictory. Fewer gleams of light mingled with the darkness, and fewer relics of ancient truth were blended with the dogmas of superstition in Polynesia than in most other idolatrous countries. There were, nevertheless, some faint rays to be perceived amid the dreary gloom. The doctrine of a Supreme Deity was generally taught by the priests of the principal groups. By the people of the Western Isles this god was designated Tangaroa; the natives of Hawaii, by a process well known to ancient as well as modern languages, called him Tanaroa; and, by another step in the same process, the Otaheiteans named him Taaroa.* This god was held to be uncreated, and to have existed from the beginning. Some of the more exalted sages taught, that he was the father of the other gods, and the creator of the heavens and the earth, the sea and all things that are therein; there were, however, others who held that the universe existed prior to the gods.

There was something in the mythology of the Otaheiteans that bore a faint analogy to those traditions which, in most countries, exhibit the doctrine of a Trinity in Unity. This doctrine is strikingly manifest among the Hindoos. Their godhead consists of Brahma, Vishnu, and Seeva; the first is considered as the father, or supreme source; the second as the mediator, whom they assert to have been incarnate;

* Cook writes it Taroataihetoomoo.

and the third the destroyer and regenerator—destruction simply signifying the dissolution of previous forms, for the purpose of new combinations. The notion of trinity in unity is remarkably set forth by combining the three faces of Brahma, Vishnu, and Seeva, in one body, with six hands, two to each person. This mode of delineating the godhead is ancient beyond tradition; it is carved everywhere in their places of worship, particularly in the celebrated cavern of the island of Elephanta. The inhabitants of Japan adored a great image in One form with three heads. The Persians, Egyptians, and the people of other adjacent lands, all recognised the same great fact in the forms and doctrines of their idolatry. Though less distinct, yet the Otaheiteans held a fragment of the same fundamental truth. Taaroa, according to them, was the father of the gods, and Oro was his first son; but "there were three classes or orders between Taaroa and Oro."* On the principle of Oro's priority of descent these classes were not the progeny of Taaroa, but how they came into being we are not informed. Indeed concerning Taaroa himself there is much contradiction.

Taaroa, who was from eternity, dwelt in the *reva*, or highest heavens, alone. His first act was the creation of Hina, who is also called his daughter; and, after this, ages innumerable passed away, till at length he and Hina made the heavens, the earth, and the sea. To these events succeeded the creation of gods. The first class comprised ten in number,—Rootane, the god of peace; Teiria, Rimaroa, Tearii tabu tura, and another, gods of war; Tuaraatai, the Polynesian Neptune; Ruanuu, a sort of sinecurist, without any assigned function; and three others of small note, and doubtful occupation. The second class was inferior to the first, and appeared to have been a species of ministering divinities between gods and men. The third class sustained various characters, some were addicted to war and others to medicine. Oro was the first of the fourth class, and appears

* The account in the Appendix to the Missionary Voyage is not only imperfect but erroneous. Neither Cook nor the mutineers of the Bounty were competent to deal with this subject, as is clearly apparent from the developments which have been made by Ellis, Williams, and other Missionaries.

to have been the medium of connexion between celestial and terrestrial beings.

In this confused mass we catch a faint, but quite distinct, glimpse of gospel doctrine. Taaroa was the father of Oro; the shadow of a bread-fruit leaf, shaken by the power of the arm of Taaroa, passed over Hina, and she in consequence became the mother of Oro.* Compare this with Luke i. 35: "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore, also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God."

Between the chief divinities and the gods of particular localities or professions, there was an intermediate class. Among these were Roo, Tane, Teiri, Tefatu, Ruanuu, Moe, Teepa, and others, all objects of worship among the Otaheiteans. The first missionaries mention no fewer than fourteen marine gods, and others have since been added. It has been generally found in idolatrous countries that the most destructive animals have been the favourites of men; so in Polynesia the shark has ever been a very important monster. The priests abounded in narratives of its wondrous achievements. They maintained that the shark always recognized a priest on board a canoe, that it came and retired at his command, and even spared him in the event of a wreck, though it might devour all beside. Mr. Ellis was repeatedly told by an intelligent man, formerly a priest, that the shark through which his god was manifested, swimming in the sea, carried either him or his father on its back from Raiatea to Huahine, a distance of twenty miles.†

There were also gods of the valleys, and of the hills, of the precipices and ravines. The Missionaries report twelve of these. Nor was there a want of spirits of a less aspiring character, and more addicted to the society of men. The first was Ofanu, the god of husbandry. Carpenters, builders, canoe-makers, all who wrought in timber and thatched houses, had also their gods. The very thieves had their divinity! These are but a few of the large catalogue of

* See Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 194.

† Ibid. p. 196.

national gods, to which must be added those of the kings and chiefs, and all families of rank and antiquity, who had each their guardian deities.

Next to the gods the people of Otaheite worshipped certain spirits, who occupied a position somewhat between gods and men. The dispensation of these beings was one of unmixed mischief. They dwelt in the world of night, and were approached by none but wizards, sorcerers, or necromancers, who supplicated their assistance in the perpetration of atrocious deeds. These dismal agents were the spirits of departed brothers, sisters, parents, and posterity, who after death, according to Ellis, were considered as a sort of demons. In the Leeward Islands these spirits were the souls of departed warriors, who had, in the days of their earthly sojourn, been famed for ferocity and murder! They were the sources of constant terror to all classes of the people; and honoured with images, through which it was supposed they exerted their power, and for which an elevated house was built, to separate them to a safe distance from men, whose destruction was considered to be their chief delight. Their favour was, therefore, assiduously cultivated; persons were appointed to watch over them, to keep them wrapped in the finest cloths, and to bring them forth on all great occasions when there was an exhibition of the gods. These watchers anointed the idols with fragrant oil, and slept in their habitation.*

In the Tonga Islands there were six classes of gods; the original gods, who were supposed to amount to three hundred, and to a small portion of whom houses were built. The first of these was Taliy Toobo, who was great, and had temples at Vavaou, Lefooga, Haano, and Wiha. He had no priest but the king, whom he sometimes inspired. The second class of gods comprised the souls of the nobles, who possessed all essential attributes in common with the first class, but in an inferior degree. These had the power of inspiring priests, and appearing in dreams and visions. They had no temples, and the proper place at which to

* See Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 202. Cook, vol. i. p. 234.

address them was their graves. The third class was composed of the Matabooles, to whom very limited powers and provinces were assigned. The fourth class comprehended the attendants or servants of the original gods, and of these the numbers were immense, but their importance was less than that of the Matabooles. The fifth class consisted of the gods of mischief; and the sixth comprised only an individual named Moooi, who was said to lie prostrate, and in that position to support the earth. The native philosophers held that attempts, prompted by uneasiness, to change his posture were the cause of earthquakes. On such occasions they gave loud shouts, and beat the ground with sticks in order to quiet him! They did not, however, profess to know on what he rested, and said that it were folly to inquire, since none can go thither to ascertain.* The idols of Polynesia, many of which may be seen in the Mission House, Blomfield-street, London, were the ugliest things that can well be conceived. Some were solid, and others hollow; some were carved, others wrapped in native cloth, and varied from a few inches to four, six, or eight feet in length. But we hasten from these abominations to the still more affecting subject of the profound homage which was paid at their polluted shrines.

In reference to Polynesian worship, the first consideration which presents itself, is the sacrifice of human beings to Taaroa, Oro, and other gods. It was the horrid province of the high-priest not only to proclaim the necessity of a human sacrifice, but also to mark out the victim! When the people were assembled on any solemn occasion, the high-priest retired alone into the house of the god, and there remained some time. When he returned, he apprized the people that he had seen and conversed with the divinity, who had commanded a sacrifice. He then named some person present, who was instantly killed. The subjects selected for murder were frequently men against whom the priest entertained some private antipathy.† In some cases, however, the priest simply demanded a victim, and left it with

* Mariner, vol. ii. pp. 103—112.
† Cook, vol. iii. p. 194.

the council of the Chief composed of the Raatiras to select the individual. The decision of the council was kept a profound secret; the person fixed upon, nevertheless, was usually a man who bore a bad character, who was seized when asleep, and despatched, if possible, with one blow of a stone on the nape of the neck, to prevent disfiguration of the body. A bone of him must not be broken, nor the corpse in any measure mangled or mutilated. It has been stated, that none were cut off in this way whose lives were not forfeited by their crimes, and that this was the only established method of executing criminals; and that if, in the absence of these, the Chief and Raatiras reported, that they knew of none deserving death, in the district, a hog might be substituted. Guilt, however, was not always necessary to expose to this species of destruction, which opened a wide sphere for the exercise and gratification of private enmity and murderous revenge.* The body was placed in a basket of cocoa-nut leaves, and carried to the temple, where it was placed before the idol, when the priest took out an eye and presented it to the king. At intervals, during prayers, some of the hair was plucked off and placed before the god. After the ceremony, the body, wrapped in the basket, was often deposited in the branches of a tree, and, after a time, the bones were taken down and buried in the Morai.†

This inhuman practice was not confined to individuals, but often extended to families, and even to districts. The destruction of one was held a reason for destroying another of the same family; and the principle applied to the district. Human sacrifices, however, were chiefly confined to great occasions, such as the dangerous illness or coronation of a king, the building of a temple, and the commencement or prosecution of a great war. The inhabitants of Maeva informed Mr. Ellis that the foundation of some of their buildings for the gods, was actually laid in human sacrifices; and that every pillar of one of their temples was planted upon the body of a man who had been offered to the god of the intended edifice! ‡

* Missionary Voyage, p. 335.

† Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 214.

‡ Ibid. p. 212.

Connected with the devotions of these benighted islanders, there was much to instruct and rebuke the inhabitants of more enlightened lands.* Their religion, such as it was, extended to every thing. There is something unspeakably touching in the accounts that have been transmitted to us. "A prayer was offered before they ate their food, when they tilled their ground, planted their gardens, built their houses, launched their canoes, cast their nets, and commenced or concluded a journey. Numerous ceremonies were performed at the birth of any child of rank, at marriages, and interments. The first fish taken periodically on their shores, together with a number of kinds regarded as sacred, were conveyed to the altar. The first fruits of their orchards and gardens were also *taumaha*, or offered, with a portion of their live-stock, which consisted of pigs, dogs, and fowls, as it was supposed death would be inflicted on the owner or the occupant of the land from which the god should not receive such acknowledgment."†

The natives of Polynesia presented a picture of consistency which, perhaps, has no parallel. Their religion, in its own way, was of a thoroughly practical nature; for whether they ate or drank, or whatever they did, they did it all with a reference to their gods. Let but the light of the gospel disperse the darkness, and let truth displace the error; give them the knowledge of the living and true God, and fill their breasts with motives derived from the Son of his love, and let them become as Christians what they have been as idolaters, and they will present the loveliest spectacle in our world. This has, in many places, been already realized, and multitudes in Christendom may well shrink from a comparison with Polynesian professors of Christianity!

* See Cook, vol. i. p. 238. Keate's Pelew Islands, p. 324.

† Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 216.

CHAPTER XI.

PRIESTHOOD OF POLYNESIA, DEATH AND A FUTURE STATE.

Functions of the Priesthood—Inspiration—Illustration—Terrible Example—Agency of the Gods in Death—Theory of Death—Mode of Purification—Notions of a Future State—Moral Sense.

In Polynesia the priesthood generally, with the exception of the Tonga islands, as in most countries, formed a distinct order; and it is a fact not a little remarkable that the office was hereditary in all its departments. The class was numerous, and consisted of persons of every rank; and as there were priests of every class, they officiated only among that class to which they belonged. A priest of the inferior class was never called upon by those of superior rank, nor did a priest of the superior rank officiate for any of the inferior class.* The functions of a priest were various and laborious. They were called in at marriages, births, deaths, feasts, and sickness, and were the doctors as well as the divines of the country. In prayer to the gods, the priest knelt on one knee, sat cross-legged, or in a crouching position, on a broad flat stone, twenty or thirty yards from the idol. Their utterance was shrill, unpleasant, and chanting, but sometimes very boisterous. There is something very remarkable with respect to the subject of inspiration among the islands of the South Sea. The accounts given by credible witnesses are truly awful. An example may be taken from the Tonga Islands.

The night before the consultation of the oracle, the chief concerned in the matter, orders a hog to be killed and prepared; next morning the hog, with a basket of yams, and two bunches of ripe plantains, is carried to the residence of

* Cook, vol. i. p. 237.

the priest. The chiefs and matabooles clothe themselves in mats, and repair thither also. The priest sits down, and the visitors take seats on his right and left, in a circular position. A crowd assembles, and when all are seated, the god is believed from that moment to have entered the priest, who is then considered as inspired. He clasps his hands, and, with downcast eyes, remains a considerable time in silence. While the victuals are being dealt out, and the cava prepared, the visitors occasionally begin to consult him, when in some cases he answers, and in others he is mute. He frequently does not utter a syllable till the repast is finished, and the cava consumed. At length he commences in a low and altered tone of voice, which gradually rises to its natural pitch, sometimes a little above it. As the mere mouthpiece of the god, he speaks in the first person. All this is often done in a calm and sober manner; but occasionally the exhibition is dreadful. His countenance becomes fierce and inflamed; his whole frame is agitated, and he is seized with a universal trembling; perspiration bursts forth upon his brow; his lips, turning black, are convulsed; at length he dissolves in tears, which stream in floods from his eyes; his breast heaves with the deepest emotion; and his utterance becomes stifled. The symptoms afterwards gradually subside. Unlike the priests of most other lands, those of Polynesia are not required by their gods to endure abstinence. Before the commencement, and at the close of this paroxysm, a priest often eats as much as four hungry men could devour.* Except the voracity, however, there is nothing new in all this; the history and the poetry of ancient times attest the prevalence of such paroxysms. Nor is the honour or the shame confined to antiquity. Some years back, exhibitions not greatly different were made from day to day in the metropolis of England, to the disgrace of our country, and the dishonour of the Christian religion.

There are, nevertheless, some incontrovertible facts in relation to this subject, which cannot be explained on any

* Mariner, vol. i. pp. 100, 101.

grounds other than those set forth in the scriptures of truth. The following is a strange example :—Two native boys, in the service of Mr. Nott, the venerable missionary, were sent from Eimeo to Otaheite for *taro* or arum-roots. The person by whom it was cultivated was a sorcerer, in whose absence the boys went to the field and procured the roots. Before their departure the magician returned, and in a fit of ungovernable rage, poured on one, if not both of them, the most dreadful imprecations. The boys, however, heedless of his fury, returned to Eimeo, but one of them was soon taken ill, and his friends, on hearing of the sorcerer's imprecations, immediately concluded that the lad was possessed of the evil spirit. The symptoms became hourly more and more alarming, and some of the Missionaries went to see him. They beheld a spectacle of the most appalling character. The youth was prostrate on the ground, "writhing in anguish, foaming at the mouth, his eyes apparently ready to start from his head, his countenance exhibiting every form of terrific distortion and pain, his limbs agitated with the most violent and involuntary convulsions. His friends stood around filled with horror, and able to impart no succour to the suffering youth, who shortly expired in the most dreadful agonies! In general, the effects of incantation were more gradual in their progress, and less sudden, though equally fatal, in their termination."* Whole families were sometimes destroyed. In Huahine one only, out of eight individuals, survives; seven, it is thought, have been cut off by one sorcerer. There was something appalling and diabolical in the operations of these enemies of all good. A sorcerer, intent on a murder, proceeded to his morai, where he performed his horrid rites, delivered his victim to the demon, imploring the spirit to enter into his body, to inflict the most excruciating bodily sufferings, and at length to destroy life, and hurry the soul to *po*, or darkness, and there pursue the work of torture.† Mr. Ellis endeavours to illustrate the mystery of destruction. He thinks that imagination may have wrought death in some of the victims after the incantation; he considers it also possible that poison

* Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. pp. 229, 230. † Ibid. p. 231.

may occasionally, by stealth, have been administered in the food. Some converted sorcerers have, indeed, confessed the employment of poison; still the most reflecting and judicious of the native converts declare their fixed belief that satanic agency had, in the days of their darkness, been in powerful operation among them.

It is instructive to ascertain in what light those islanders viewed the awful subjects of death, and a future state. There was not among them one element of the infidel philosophy of more civilized lands. Their doctrine of death was, that, in every instance, it was effected by the direct influence of the gods. Even where vegetable, or other poisons, were employed, and had effected destruction, it was considered less as the result of these natural agents than as the fruit of divine displeasure acting through these instruments. The same was their notion of casual death, and slaughter in the field of battle. They believed that in both cases the gods entered into the means and instruments of their ruin, and accomplished the same by a direct operation. They entertained a dim and unsettled conception of a future state. The Missionaries could, with difficulty, ascertain what they understood by spirit. It seemed, in their view, to possess the attributes at least of figure and extension, and to bear a similitude to the human body, in which it had resided, filling all its parts. Death was supposed to be effected by the gods pulling the soul out of the body, as a sword is drawn from its scabbard. They held that the spirit, on thus being separated from the tabernacle of clay, repaired to the *po*, or state of night, which was also, as we have seen, the residence of the gods, and of deified souls. Their ideas were grossly corporeal; hence their tenet that spirits, on being conducted to the *po*, or state of night, were devoured by the gods, who were, consequently, a species of refined cannibals. There was, however, something connected with this dispensation, not a little calculated to reconcile the Polynesians to supply, in person, this banquet to their divinities. It was taught that the soul passed through the god, and that, if eaten three times, it became a deified spirit, which enjoyed the privilege of again visiting the islands, and inspiring others.

The Polynesians had a heaven which was called *Miru*. The popular heaven of the Leeward Islands was Rohutu, which was situated near the "glorious Tamahani," a celebrated mountain on the north-west side of Raiatea, and might be considered the Polynesian Olympus. This place was a paradise of all good; nothing was wanting to gratify to the full every appetite of the creature. The great point relative to futurity is thus stated by the highest authority:— "The misery of the one, and enjoyments of the other, debasing as they were, were the destiny of individuals, altogether irrespective of their moral character and virtuous conduct. The only crimes that were visited by the displeasure of their deities were the neglect of some rite or ceremony, or the failing to furnish required offerings. I have often, in conversations with the people and sometimes with the priests, endeavoured to ascertain whether they had any idea of a person's condition in a future state being connected with his disposition and general conduct in this; but I never could learn that they expected, in the world of spirits, any difference in the treatment of a kind, generous, peaceful man, and that of a cruel, parsimonious, quarrelsome one. I am, however, inclined to think, from the anxiety about a future state, which some have evinced when near death, that natural conscience, which I believe pronounced a verdict on the moral character of every action throughout their lives, is not always inactive in the solemn hour of dissolution, although its salutary effects were neutralized by the strength of superstition."*

This great and fundamental point, both in theology and morals, which is thus incontrovertibly set forth by Ellis, is also amply discussed by Mariner; and the shrewd seaman in all respects powerfully supports the enlightened Missionary. It is also to be remembered that the work of the former was published about eleven years previously to that of the latter. According to Mariner, the natives of the Tonga islands had no knowledge or belief of a future place of rewards or punishments; they had no conception of "a

* Polynesian Researches, vol. i. pp. 517, 518.

state of future punishment of any kind or degree whatsoever." Their very language indicates the tenets of their creed. They have no terms expressive of virtue, justice, humanity, or vice, injustice, cruelty, and the like; while malice, revenge, rape, and even murder, under many circumstances, are not held to be crimes. They, nevertheless, believe that the gods regard men with various degrees of favour or displeasure according to their conduct in many respects, and this was the only basis of a virtuous life.

In relation to this point, Mariner elicited another fact full of interest to students of Moral Science. He asked many of the chiefs what motives they had for propriety of conduct, and they uniformly replied, that their motive consisted in "the agreeable and happy feeling which a man experiences within himself when he does any good action, or conducts himself nobly and generously, as a man ought to do; and this question they answered as if they wondered such a question should be asked."*

Such was the woeful condition of the myriads of Polynesia when the ship Duff arrived with the servants of the Most High God, who first showed unto them the way of salvation,—servants, whom, at the appointed time, the Saviour sent to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they might receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in Him, who is God over all, blessed for ever. Amen!

* Mariner, vol. ii. p. 141.

PART NINTH.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE PRINCIPAL FOUNDERS OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

CHAPTER I.

MINISTERIAL FOUNDERS OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Wilks—Bogue—Eyre—Haweis—Williams—Greatheed—Burder—Love—Waugh—Hill—Townsend—Steven—Hunter—Brooksbank—Kingsbury—Graham.

Having detailed the occurrences and circumstances which led to the formation of the Missionary Society—having recorded the eventful history of the first and second voyages of the ship Duff,—and having reported on the condition of the inhabitants of the South Sea islands, when the first Missionaries arrived among them; it only remains to add a few memorial sketches of the great and good men, by whose instrumentality this mighty enterprise was devised and executed.

It would be difficult to introduce the names of those individuals, respectively, in the order of their relative importance, as agents in the work; for after passing beyond two or three names the claims of such as remain may, perhaps, be considered nearly equal. Abstaining, therefore, from all controversy on the point of priority, we readily yield to feelings almost filial, and give the foremost place to one whose memory is fragrant both in the mind of the writer, and in that of a multitude whom he holds in the highest estimation.

REV. MATTHEW WILKS.

Matthew Wilks was born at Gibraltar in the year 1746, his father being an officer in the army, and then quartered with his regiment at that celebrated place. The troops were shortly after ordered to Ireland, where they remained many years. On retiring from the service, Mr. Wilks settled with his family at Birmingham, where he resided till the close of his earthly pilgrimage. In that town Matthew was apprenticed to a respectable trade, which he followed for a very few years with laudable industry, till Providence called him to another method of serving his generation. In the year 1771, twelve or fifteen months after the decease of Whitfield, whose pulpits he was destined so long and so usefully to occupy, he was brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. This great event, an event by which the nations of the British empire and distant lands have been more or less affected, was brought about in the following manner. The Rev. W. Percy, curate of the parish of West Bromwich, was one day, according to custom, preaching in a private room in the neighbourhood, when Matthew, hearing the sound of his voice, was prompted to become a listener under the window, and that word, which is both quick and powerful and sharper than a two-edged sword, passed through its crevices and pierced him to the heart! The work of mercy in relation to him and his house, did not end here; Mr. Percy was also the instrument of conversion to his celebrated brother Mark Wilks, many years baptist minister at Norwich, and also of Miss Shenstone, to whom Matthew was subsequently married.

Mr. Percy soon perceived that his son in Christ was no ordinary man; he, therefore, encouraged him to improve his gifts and graces, and afterwards suggested the propriety of considering whether he might not be more useful to the cause of God by relinquishing business and preparing for the ministry. The result was, his subsequent entrance of the college at Trevecca, under the auspices of the late Countess of Huntingdon. In that seminary he prosecuted his studies with success, and developed the possession of powers

and of preaching talents, of a high order. Towards the termination of his course, he was casually heard by the late Mr. Keen, the faithful friend of Whitfield, one of his executors, and a manager of his chapels in London, who subsequently invited the young preacher as a supply to their pulpits. His gifts were approved and his labours acceptable in the metropolis; and after a considerable period he was solicited to settle as a permanent pastor. Several persons are yet alive who remember the circumstances attending his ordination. On that interesting occasion Mr. Percy, his venerated father in Christ, was present, and, together with Mr. Joss and others, took part in the service which was held in the Tabernacle. Matthew, in his "Confession of Faith," touchingly adverted to his conversion, and made reference, in his own characteristic manner, to the memorable night when the power of the word passed through the window and penetrated his youthful bosom. Mr. Joss, in bringing forward the subject to the church and congregation, said, "My friends, Mr. Wilks has long been amongst us as a dry brother; will you now have him for one of your ministers?" A show of hands was taken, and the assembled multitude were unanimous in accepting him in that capacity. The addresses customary among Dissenters were delivered to the pastor and the people, respectively, and the young watchman set apart by imposition of hands.

He continued one of the pastors of the Tabernacle and Tottenham Court chapel during a space of fifty-three years. For a time he was very popular; his singularity of voice and manner, for a little, attracted multitudes who were otherwise but ill able to appreciate the varied excellencies of his ministration. One of those excellencies was the solid, practical, and thoroughly scriptural texture of his discourses, which soon rendered them very unsavoury to a class of professors, at that day more numerous than, happily, they are at the present, both in the metropolis and in Whitfield's chapels. For many years he was very far from popular, and his audiences on all occasions of his appearing in the pulpits of the Tabernacle and of Tottenham Court chapel were comparatively small. Certain published accounts of

this matter have set forth rather what is considered good than what is true; but it should be remembered that there are those whose praise is censure, and their censure praise, and that the highest excellence in the pulpit may consist with the deepest dislike on the part of men who love "smooth things." Nevertheless, all who disapproved were not by any means of that class. At an early period there were not wanting those whose ignorance was equalled only by their impudence, and who clamoured loudly for his removal on the ground of his alleged unsuitability for the station which he occupied. A venerated person of high respectability, still a member of the Tabernacle, a grandchild of the late excellent Daniel West, Esq., the friend of Whitfield, and the colleague of Mr. Keen in the original management, well remembers discussions upon the subject, when the sagacious manager, her grandfather, was wont to say, "No, let him alone; he will wear well." In this case the wisdom and firmness of the manager supplied an effective antidote to the mischievous folly of the ignorant and unstable portion of the multitude.

It is, however, a very remarkable fact, that the departed popularity of this patriarchal pastor received a sort of resurrection about ten years before his death. Returning, with his worthy colleague, John Hyatt, from an ordination, in stepping out of the coach he broke his leg, and was in consequence confined for several months. This event created much anxiety and sympathy among the congregations; and, on his re-appearance he was hailed with joy, as the father, and friend, and faithful guide of his attached flock. From that time to the close of his career, his manifold and exalted virtues were fully appreciated; old and young crowded to hear him; they treasured up his wise and weighty observations as those of an oracle; his age, oddity, and originality, contributed not a little, in addition to his personal worth, to render him an object of the deepest interest. His sphere of observation had been large, and long occupied; and that observation had been of a nature so careful, keen, and piercing, that his knowledge of the human heart and of mankind had become prodigious. Competent persons, in

the congregations, state that ofttimes his pulpit addresses were truly astonishing; that his views were so penetrating, his sentiments so fraught with wisdom, and these views and sentiments delivered in a manner so sententious and oracular, as to enforce the persuasion that they must have proceeded from a kind of intuition or inspiration. They state, too, that his prayers were of the most remarkable order, characterised at once by great depth of devotion, to the exclusion of all that was set or formal in thought or expression. Attention never slept in the heart of the hearer; for he could not tell what was to be the next idea or the next word. All was the business and fruit of the present hour, fresh from the heart and the understanding of the speaker. Then, his oddity, likewise, if it was ever allied to levity, had entirely ceased to be so; and age had brought with it nothing of imbecility of mind or of movement; he was characterised by the same moral courage, energy, decision, and inflexibility of purpose, which had always so peculiarly marked him, to the last hour of his life. Nevertheless, time, experience, suffering, and grace, had thrown around him a softness, a tenderness, a benignity, and a gentleness, seldom united, and not easily or speedily combined, with these heroic virtues, and which he very slenderly possessed in his early years—a deficiency which principally accounted for his want of acceptance with not a few persons both intelligent and devout, and lovers of sound gospel doctrine. I have found that, in the opinion of his people, this was a principal cause of his second and surpassing popularity. Be this as it may, one thing is clear, that, when he died, in the eighty-third year of his age, and the fifty-third of his ministry, he was in the noon-tide of his acceptance, the very zenith of his popularity; and that, with the exception of his distinguished and most deservedly celebrated relative, James Parsons, no man who entered the pulpit of the Tabernacle, attracted congregations of greater magnitude; a fact, which, probably, never occurred in the history of any man of the same years, and during a pastorship of the same length, in these islands. The venerable man has given us the following rythmical history of the first part of his remarkable career.

"When to London first I went,
To preach the gospel my intent,
My fame then flew around the place,
And people thought me filled with grace.
I to the Tabernacle came,
And found it crowded through my fame;
For, from the pulpit to the door,
'Twas filled with throngs of rich and poor,
Who came to hear in stuffs and silks:
I then was called 'Great Mr. Wilks.'
But, as the sun went past the height
Of noon, declining towards the right,
So soon my soaring fame, I found,
Was something nearer to the ground:
But still it flew, though not so high,—
'The Rev. Mr. Wilks' was I.
And as the rolling year went round,
And me in London still they found,
I yet went on with lessened fame,
The 'Rev. Matthew Wilks' my name.
The Tabernacle still my place,
I filled it, though with slower pace;
And found, that as I older grew,
The people wanted something new;
The stuffs yet came, though fewer silks;
My name was only 'Matthew Wilks.'
But oh! the worst was yet to come,
And further slighting was my doom;
For, if a friend should chance to meet
An old acquaintance in the street,
And say, 'Well, Thomas, will you go
To hear "Matt. Wilks," whom you well know?'
How oft has this been the reply—
'A squeaking fellow! no, not I.'" *

Mr. Wilks occupied a large space among public men during the last forty years of his life. There were few of the great movements of the day in which he did not share. Perhaps the foremost place, amongst those movements, ought to be assigned to the establishment of the Evangelical Magazine, which thus originated: the Rev. John Eyre, of honoured memory, who cherished a strong affection for Mr. Wilks, called and told him that he had been requested by Mr. Priestly and a printer, to unite in the establishment of a religious magazine, of which the profits were to be equally

* These lines, with the paragraph which precedes them, are extracted from an article supplied by the author, some years ago, to a periodical then conducted by his gifted friend the Rev. Joseph Belcher.

shared. Mr. Wilks, with his characteristic sagacity, adverted to the pecuniary hazard to be incurred; Mr. Eyre, in consequence, declined; on which Mr. Wilks suggested a periodical on the liberal principles which have always governed the conductors of the Evangelical Magazine. Mr. Eyre at once concurred, and the result was the establishment by them, with some others, in 1795, of that important publication. The next great undertaking in which he embarked was the formation of the London Missionary Society some months afterwards. It is also a fact somewhat remarkable that the same men, Wilks and Eyre, convened in their own names the first meeting with a view to that object, which was attended by Bogue, Stevens, Love, Reynolds, Brooksbank, and Townsend. It was likewise his favoured lot to be one of those who composed the first meeting that assembled with a view to the formation of the Bible Society. He occupied a position of like honour in relation to the Tract Society. The Book Society, the Irish Evangelical Society, the Village Itinerancy, and other valuable institutions, were all under vital obligations to his judicious counsel, his extended influence, and his active labours.

To these public matters we could add much, did it consist with our plan and limits, relative to his operations in his pastoral capacity, but we must hasten to the close of his earthly pilgrimage. The writer was intimately mixed up with the events of the last four months of his sainted existence. At the request of Mr. Wilks, he was engaged to supply the pulpits of the Tabernacle and Tottenham Court chapel, during the autumn of 1828 and the commencement of 1829, when important business brought him to London. On Friday, October the 3rd, he arrived in the metropolis, and went to a missionary meeting connected with the chapel in Tottenham Court Road; and there, for the first time, he saw the venerable man, to whom he was introduced by a mutual friend, the Rev. Dr. Henderson, of Highbury College. The aged pastor was sitting, like some seer of old, with his hat on and pulled over his face, and his long staff between his feet, grasped with both hands. He took the hand of the writer and held it for some time without uttering

ing a word: at last, with the utmost feeling and affection, he said, "The Lord bless you!" A long pause ensued, and then he added, "May you wear well!" No more followed for a time, and then he conversed pleasantly.

On the following Lord's day, having no preaching engagement till the evening, the writer went to worship and commune at the Tabernacle, where Mr. Wilks was to preach. Without seeing Mr. Wilks, he took a seat in a pew, and the venerable pastor ascended the pulpit. Feeling very unwell, and having ascertained that the writer was present, he conveyed to him a message to the effect that he was indisposed, and would feel obliged by the latter taking the service for him. Having received a satisfactory reply, he read, prayed, descended, and coming to the vestry, without saying a word, with his own hand he put his gown on the writer, who preached and concluded the worship. Mr. Wilks never more ascended that pulpit, although he survived about four months. In the evening the writer went to preach at Tottenham Court chapel, the lease of which had terminated, and which was that night opened for the last Sabbath previous to its being closed for years. From this circumstance the crowd was immense; besides the stated congregation, many who were not, or had long ceased to be, regular worshippers, came to take a last look at the venerated house in which they had been reared, and in the vaults and grounds of which the dust of their parents, children, and other relatives was reposing. After the writer had finished the service, the ancient pastor ascended the pulpit, and, with faltering accents, announced that the lease was expired, that the chapel was in consequence to be shut up, and that such of the church and congregation as chose to remain together would assemble in a school-room in the neighbourhood, next Lord's day. Never did a heavier heart beat in a pastoral bosom. The venerable man was exceedingly overcome; that event was felt to be one of the sorest afflictions of his life. Next Sabbath he preached in person in the school-room, and dispensed the ordinance of the supper, an act which finished his pulpit labours. He soon became much indisposed; his illness at times was somewhat alarm-

ing; but he got better in the course of December. He nevertheless made up all his accounts to Christmas, 1828, in the spirit of a man who felt that his work was done, and the hour of his departure at hand. In a memorandum book he left the following affecting observations:—

"As my dear wife was well, and dead, in less than an hour, it behoves me to be prepared to meet God; and to arrange my little worldly affairs, so as to give my successors as little trouble as possible. The salvation of my soul has been to me, for many years, a subject of primary concern; and I have no doubt when Christ appears, I shall, through infinite grace, appear with him in glory."

In the month of January, 1829, he greatly improved, and began to appear in public; he dispensed the ordinance of the Lord's Supper to both the churches, attended prayer meetings, and took his place at committees of religious societies. About this time, and previously, he held much conversation with the writer on various subjects connected with his proposed acceptance of the pastoral office, as a colleague in the room of Mr. Hyatt. He also spent a portion of his time in introducing him to the principal families of his flock. On December the 16th the writer saw Mr. Wilks, by appointment, when the subject of settlement was first formally introduced. He had previously, as early as October the 10th, put many leading questions, and given very significant hints, but now he spoke explicitly as follows, according to a journal * kept and transmitted weekly by post and bearing its marks—to the author's home in Scotland:—

"I have just been to Mr. Wilks this morning; he soon broached the business. He was very pleasant and communicative. He says he is master of all. 'We have managers,' says he, 'but I manage them.' I believe this is the real truth. He said the churches were in a 'ticklish plight,'—that the 'idea of my settlement would give pleasure to all

* In the recent Chancery proceedings relative to Whitfield's chapels, this Journal was tendered in evidence by R. D. Craig, Esq., counsel for the writer, as a document demonstrative of the terms on which he accepted office. The Journal had been forgotten till these proceedings brought it to mind; a circumstance which will account for the less accurate version of one or two facts, which were previously given from memory, in another publication.

the leading, influential, and judicious men,'—that he had 'spoken with one of the managers already,'—that he had 'been slow, and had observed me well,'—that 'he wished to see how I would hold out,'—that 'a minister might preach two or three good sermons, and then all was poverty and barrenness.'" To all this the writer replied according to his judgment and feelings at the time.

From this period Mr. Wilks was in constant communication with the author, and very active in ascertaining the views of the people; nor, while attentive to prudence, was he unmindful of prayer, as will appear from the following entry of the Journal, dated December the 22nd:—

"Things are still in progress. There is always a sermon at Tabernacle on the evening of Monday; that, by announcement last evening, is suspended to night, and converted into 'a special prayer meeting of the church, to supplicate the outpouring of the Spirit of God, and his guidance in reference to the ministers and affairs of the connexion as they at present stand.' This is almost the wording of the article; what may then follow I know not. The thing is begun to break out; the meeting is a sort of signal to the congregation to prepare for some decisive measure. Oh! may the Lord guide them indeed."—"Afternoon: I have seen Mr. Wilks, poor man; he was very kind, and urged me to attend the prayer meeting to-night, to which I assented. I have nothing further to say upon the subject of settlement; and still find more and more real neutrality and resignation."

The Journal, of December the 29th, contains the following entry, which shows the extent of interest excited by the announcement:—

"By the way, the meeting for special prayer, on Monday the 22nd, was the best I ever saw. Perhaps there were 1,200 people present; and on the whole there seemed to us to rest an unction from on high. The prayers were exceedingly fine; they turned altogether on the subject of a pastor. I felt rather uneasy, and wished I had not been there. It was at the urgent request of Mr. Wilks, good old man, who was there himself, that I went. He said it would 'gratify him to see me there."

The next passage of the same date records a fact of some moment. The author was not then, more than now, an admirer of the principle of patronage, under whatever guise it might present itself, and could accept no terms which did not unequivocally express, or with unerring certainty imply the cordial and strong desire of the church of Christ, the legitimate organ through which alone his own mind, will, and pleasure are declared to his servants in such matters. In reference to this the Journal proceeds :—

" I am still in the same resigned yet doubtful way. I hate that system of management, and the idea of being set over thousands by one or two persons. I have spoken decidedly my feelings,—that, *unless the choice of the* PEOPLE, *as well as of them, I cannot listen to any proposals,*"

Mr. Wilks at once conceded the propriety and necessity of the cordial concurrence of the church and congregation, and resorted to suitable methods of ascertaining their opinions. As a first step, he instructed the office-bearers of the church to use every means to discover the truth relative to this matter. The prayer meeting, to answer a certain object, was suspended one week, but resumed again. In reference to this, the Journal of January the 5th, 1829, says,—

" The people met again on the Monday of last week for prayer, but they do not meet to-night ; although it seems Mr. Wilks had said it would continue for a month."—" It seems that the Lord has so touched the people's hearts as to produce a degree of unanimity, relative to me, even beyond the expectation of the most sanguine friends. The twelve brethren, or, as we would call them, deacons, dined together last Tuesday, and drew up a letter, and all signed it, to the managers, representing their own wish, and that of all whom they knew among the people."

These movements, combined with other circumstances, in some degree contributed to satisfy the writer, that he was the object of the people's choice, and that the invitation wanted nothing of popularity but the form—a circumstance to which he attached at least a subordinate importance—its

spirit existed, and exerted its full power on the respective parties. There were other reasons, however, which led to very serious consideration, and preserved the mind in a state of dubiety, which is thus indicated in the Journal of the same date:—

"The system has its evils as well as its good, and the extent of the former on the same vast scale as the latter. I am, positively, not at all uplifted about it. I may say, that never did I feel less anxious, and more at the Lord's will, about anything. Perhaps the gradual manner in which it has come on may produce much of this coolness on my part; yet I hope it is partly from the knowledge of the fact that the Lord reigneth. Something may yet come to light to lead me to break off the negotiation, or which may avert their minds from me. I confess the idea of removal, when the thing is no longer viewed in the mass, but in the several parts of it, is to me most harassing, I had almost said terrible. My heart says, 'I shall not be sorry should it never occur.'"

From time to time, the aged pastor pursued his object with his characteristic prudence and perseverance. The Journal of January the 13th refers to a period at which his health was much improved, and there was every prospect of his continuance for years. It also displays him in some of those endearing lights in which his character appeared to those who enjoyed the honour and privilege of his confidence:—

"This morning a message came from Mr. Wilks, that he wished to take me through the almshouses. I have just been, and, really, they are a most delightful concern. I have had a more than pleasant morning. Mr. Wilks is the most singular man I ever met. To one widow he says, 'How long have you been in Tabernacle?' The poor creature was humbly proceeding to remark, I think, on the little improvement she had made, when he said, 'Come! none of your hypocrisy! Answer my question!' All this is with so much humour and sweetness, that it tickles you irresistibly. He is a very, yes, a very kind man; and to me he

shows an excess of courtesy. He takes me to-day in a coach to some of his higher friends, after which we go to dine at the house of Mr. A., the chief of the twelve brethren."

By this time the writer had come to a considerable acquaintance with the true state of the chapels. He saw clearly, that, in many respects, they were behind the spirit of the age, and that the whole business of education required revision, revival, and reform. He opened his mind upon these subjects with the utmost freedom. If his difficulties could be met and overcome in these, and some other respects, he beheld in them a boundless field of pastoral usefulness. To this important part of the business the following extract of the Journal of the same date refers:—

"Nothing particular has transpired since I wrote you. The church meets again for prayer to-night, instead of sermon; I suppose this will be the last time. I believe there is much unanimity, as well as strong desire among them, concerning me. I see much among them too, which attaches me, and yet the drawbacks are very considerable. I am told, however, that *all or most of them I might remove*, if they are a grievance to me. But there is no place without some difficulty, and men must just make the most of what is bad."

While the writer was scrutinizing the state of the churches, Mr. Wilks was most keenly scrutinizing his character and fitness for the office. The whole of his intercourse might be denominated an experimental process. The *modus operandi* was sometimes rather rough. He occasionally contradicted the writer on points as clear as day, in the most uncourteous manner; on several occasions he was quite insulting. One of these was in the course of dinner, in the midst of a large company; another was in his own house, upon the subject of preaching. The old gentleman, after the writer had preached about three months, one day gravely began,—"Well, Sir, will your stock hold out? Are you near the end?" In reply, the writer said, "I hope so; if the Bible hold out; I have no stock." "No stock, Sir! Do you mean to say that you came to officiate in London, for so long a time, without any stock of discourses?" "I

do, Sir. I brought with me the notes of only a single sermon, which happened to be the last I preached at home." "Well, Sir, was not that great presumption in you?" "It may, Sir, but it is my habit; I derive little aid from old compositions, and seldom use them, as I find fresh preparation, though imperfect, has in it more vitality and force." There was nothing sportive or playful in all this; the spirit in which he spoke was harsh and stern. On a subsequent occasion, in reference to this interview, the old man, with much animation and affection, exclaimed, "You are right, Sir! You are right, Sir! That is the plan! That has been my method through life." The writer subsequently discovered that such things were predetermined acts designed to test the *temper* of the writer—an attribute to which, as a pastoral qualification, he attached the utmost importance. The following extracts, from the Journal of the same date, will further illustrate this point:—

"In our long confab, yesterday week, Mr. Wilks spoke his mind very fully. 'You are up rather than down in my estimate of your preaching. On this subject there can hardly be two opinions, but you may break down under the smaller duties; you may be too distant and reserved.' 'I am not aware of that, Sir.' 'O yes, there is an air and a gait about you that repels the people, and says, I want no words—stand off! It passes away the moment they enter into conversation with you; but there is the appearance of it.' 'I am always reserved, Sir, till I know my ground; besides, Sir, in present circumstances, I am resolute in keeping at the utmost distance from all your people, rich and poor, that no man may say I have stolen their hearts.'"

Things on all sides ripened by degrees. Mr. Wilks thoroughly possessed himself of the views of the writer, and knew the contingencies on which his acceptance of office wholly rested; he likewise knew the minds of the management, and of the multitude, and at length he opened his heart as follows in the Journal of the same week and date:—

"It is just a month since we began to talk of it; it has been ever since a matter of prayer with the church, and with

individuals;—it will, however, soon end now, and, from what Mr. Wilks says, in the confirmation of my election by the managers. I am the *people's choice,* as well as their own, but the people can *only elect*—they *alone confirm.* Thus it stands then; Mr. Wilks knows all my mind—what I wish—what I want—he knows that of all else—and he says, 'I look on you as settled.' Letters and requests, I know, pour in upon him concerning me. If circumstances speak the will of the Lord, the voice is very decided in this business. Yet it may all vanish. I am just in the same utter resignation as before."

While the writer, as a supply, was residing in the Tabernacle house, Mr. Wilks was very communicative on a variety of matters. The day after the visit to the widows, he came to the house just as the writer was filling up his Journal. On his retirement the following entry was made, of the same date and week as above:—

"Mr. Wilks has just been in to see me. 'Give my love to Mrs. C—. I suppose you are stuffing your letters with stories of me, are you?' (with a very sweet smile). 'I mention you, Sir.'—I preach to-night at Tottenham. Good Mr. Wilks, on departing, 'thought to go with me,' he said, and I suppose he will go. Standing in the floor, he says, 'It is just as well to tell you: I was exceedingly prejudiced in your favour yesterday by your converse and deportment among the widows. It was fine—very fine—you seemed quite at home, and not at all weary of going about among them. Your affectionate and suitable talk and ready entrance into their views and feelings, &c. &c. I watched you all day, and observed your conduct respecting every man and thing, and I was very—very much pleased.'"

The venerable man persevered in his course of kindness and of inquiry from day to day; the subjects of preaching, Christian doctrine, and Christian duty, church government, and the comparative claims of divers systems, pastoral duty, and kindred points, were closely, sometimes warmly discussed. He and the writer quite concurred in respect to the aspect which the New Testament bears on the subject of ecclesiastical polity, but in the construction of the spiritual

fabric he avowed at least an abstract preference for presbytery, while the author declared for the great principle of independency, insisting that even where the form might, from circumstances, be but imperfectly practicable, yet the spirit of it ought to govern the affairs of every Christian church,—that since government was simply a means to an end, and governors, both spiritual and temporal, existed for the people, not the people for them, they ought, in all cases where momentary whim or passion did not triumph over judgment, to be the mere interpreters and executors of the popular will; and in this view the experienced, profound, and sagacious man cordially and entirely concurred. The Journal of January the 16th, discloses the simplicity with which he unbosomed himself to the writer:—

"We were much together last week, and had a deal of converse. You have hardly any idea how much of his esteem the Lord has given me, and this is the more valuable because he deals it out very sparingly. He is a prudent and very profound man. I am almost surprised at the excess of esteem he cherishes for me. I am 'a sharp man,' 'a man of sense,' 'a man of knowledge,' and a man of many other things. He told me on Saturday, that he wished to see me on Monday morning. To-day I went. He was excessively kind, and candid, and communicative: 'Mr. Campbell, our minds are made up. I have had a deal to do to restrain the managers, especially Mr. Wilson, from bringing matters to a crisis with you. I kept them back that I might see all of you I could; now I tell you, the more I see of you the more I love you.'"

Mr. Wilks having discussed and adjusted every point with the writer, he intimated that, on an early day, he would fix a meeting of the managers and the writer, for their mutual recognition of a written compact, when in the mean time he was struck for death. The Journal of January the 26th, recites the facts as follows:—

"Never was any man more loved by Mr. Wilks. The written document of the managers has not yet been presented to me wholly through Mr. Wilks's illness. He spent the first four days of last week almost wholly in going about

with me, introducing me to the chief of his people. On Thursday night, about 3 A.M., he was taken ill, and has been dangerously so ever since, mostly delirious and speechless."

On several previous days he was far from well; but still he was about, and saw several friends. He, nevertheless, began to entertain very serious apprehensions that his labours were drawing to a termination. Indeed, for a considerable period, he looked like a man who was waiting the coming of his Lord. The journal proceeds :—

"On Wednesday the chief manager called, and Mr. Wilks went down to him. When Mrs. L—— opposed, he said he must, for it was to see something he had been writing. On coming up, he said to Mrs. L——, 'Now, my dear, I can die in peace.' She conceives that the document was my invitation, which had accorded with his views and conversation with me, and which he seemed assured I would accept, therefore he viewed himself as seeing his successor. He spake one day with me very sweetly of Moses and Joshua, of Moses' desire to see his successor, &c. As I told you, Mr. Wilks is the ruler of the rulers; hence he settled everything with me. He told me he had difficulty in restraining Mr. Wilson from doing the business long ago; but he had some ends to secure by prolonging; he "wanted to whet the desire of the people." He told Mr. Wilson, beginning of last week, that it was not expedient to put off longer. Mr. Wilson rejoicing, inquired, 'What was to be the mode of proceeding with the settlement?' Mr. Wilks replied, 'It is all settled.' He then explained the whole affair. Mr. Wilson said, 'Well, you are a prudent man.' Mr. Wilks said, 'All is right; Mr. Campbell considers it as an engagement.' On Friday he was so ill, that when Mr. Wilson came he could not be admitted, and thus matters stand up to the present hour. Almost the only thing he could articulate on Saturday forenoon, was always, 'Is he coming? Is he coming?' &c. Mrs. L—— imagined he meant me, and wrote me a line. I went. He said three times distinctly, 'You must come! You must come! You must come!' Mrs. L—— said, 'When come? What come

to?' He hardly understood her, but turned and said, 'He WILL come!" The matter was this; he thought from our intimacy that Mrs. L—— knew my mind, that I had received the document, and he wished to know if I had accepted it. There have been three consultations of doctors. He was rather better last night. Mrs. L——, Mr. John, James Parsons, and myself, went up yesterday at midday. He took little notice of any but me. He looked at me often, smiled on me, said some sentences to me distinctly, requested me to pray, when leaving said, 'May the good will of him that dwelt in the bush dwell with you!' You can hardly conceive how much I was affected on Saturday to see him. How much I wish the Lord would spare him!—I have just been to see Mr. Wilks; very ill; quite sound in mind all day. He took leave of all his children to-day. He gave instructions this morning to the chief manager to conclude the affair with me immediately—that this was a *sine qua non* with him. The manager said he would write forthwith. Mr. Wilks having said and done all this, then told Mrs. L—— that nothing more remained for him to do; that all was peace within, and all was hope before him. Consultation followed consultation, but what the issue will be I do not know. The Lord spare him, if it be his will! He was much affected when he saw me. He inquired frequently before I went, whether I had not been. Many tears have I shed to-day, to think of losing Mr. Wilks."

During these mournful days the anxiety of his most affectionate flock was inexpressible. It was about as much as one person could do to answer inquiries at the street door, besides the incessant arrival of more intimate friends who were successively admitted into the parlour, and who pressed for more specific information. The Journal of January the 29th announces the close of the affecting scene:—

"I told you in my last that poor Mr. Wilks was taken ill. I have been mostly taken up with him and the family ever since. I left him last night a little before twelve, and returning this morning found that he was no more. He endured a great deal with astonishing patience, and then slept in peace. Oh! how wonderful are the works of God!

He has left everything in a very proper state. Four months ago how little we thought of the large part I was to have in all this! My settlement here was the last great affair that concerned him, and the last act he did, and the last thing about which he gave his commands. He seemed to look on himself as kept alive for this object, and having achieved this, and introduced me to his leading people privately, and seen me virtually settled over them, and seated in their affections, he departed cheerfully, saying, his 'work was done!' When I look at the whole thing it astonishes me. Of all the events in my life none is nearly so marked as the present. You will remember the first sabbath of my appearance in London, and what took place in the Tabernacle. His burden had that day, for the first time, become too heavy for him, and the Lord, as it seemed, sent me to his aid at the very moment of his difficulty; after that day he never ascended the pulpit again, and I have literally filled his place ever since. The chief manager and I met according to appointment yesterday, in Tabernacle house. After prayer by him, we conversed on the providence of God in this business. The whole appeared to him as a very extraordinary thing. Among other things he said that, during the three years which will have elapsed to-morrow, since the death of Mr. Hyatt, they have still been hoping and trying to believe that each new minister was one sent of the Lord. This had been often the case after a first or second sermon; but before a third or fourth sabbath, they always came to the conclusion, 'This is not the man. But,' said he, (using the same words, which, you know, Mr. Wilks addressed to myself,) 'the more we see of you, the more we love you.' I began this in the Tabernacle house, I now write in Mr. Wilks's house beside Mr. Parsons, and Mrs. L——, who write to all friends of their grandfather's death. I have now learned his last words. Yesternight, on seeing the manager, Townsend, this gentleman asked if he (Mr. Wilks) had any thing to say to him. 'Yes!' said he, 'the Tabernacle!' Mrs. L—— said, 'He refers to Mr. Campbell.' 'Yes,' said Mr. Wilks. Mr. Townsend replied, 'It is all settled.' He then said, 'Thank God! thank God!' and spake no

more. You have no idea how much I am affected. I pray, and will pray, that God may enable me to fulfil all his expectations! The managers have been all here. One of them knelt down beside the corpse with the family, and prayed in the most touching manner. They afterwards in the drawing-room embraced me with tears, and blessing the Lord for his most marked hand in sending me."

A solemn pause succeeded to the excitement and anguish of the season of suffering, which death had terminated. The venerated dust of the man of God lay the usual time in the parlour of his own residence, where multitudes were indulged and honoured by a last glance at his pale but most placid countenance. On the evening previous to the day of the funeral, the coffin was removed to the Tabernacle, and laid on the communion table, where it was watched by his faithful and attached friend Mr. J. Mulley, of Mark's gate. The Journal of February the 11th, thus relates the events of that mournful day; a day which, with all its gloom and unfeigned distress, brought a glorious triumph to the worth and the virtues of a truly great and good man:—

"Well! dear Mr. Wilks is shrouded and entombed, and will now rest till the heavens are no more. He was buried yesterday. Such a funeral I never saw. Of the multitudes assembled, I can form no estimate. It was the most solemn day I ever beheld. Tabernacle was greatly crowded by the Tabernacle and Tottenham congregations, who were admitted by tickets, otherwise ten Tabernacles would not have sufficed. I began the service by giving out a hymn, and reading the 15th of 1st Corinthians. Mr. Morrison then prayed; then Rowland Hill gave the address, in the middle of which I read an account of the dying moments of our friend. After this the procession began to form; all the ministers, about 100, went out; then the deputation from the Itinerant Society went; then the deputation from the Irish Evangelical Society; then the deputation from the London Missionary Society; then Mr. Rook, Rowland Hill, and myself, one on each side of him, went immediately before the corpse, as chief mourners; then the body which had been placed just before the pulpit; then the family; then the pro-

cession-general.* We went to Bunhill-Fields; Mr. Hill prayed at the grave, and afterwards went back to Tabernacle in my arm. It was a day, the triumph of which was equalled only by its sorrow. The excitement is extraordinary. Yesterday declared the public opinion of the man! I went and dined with five of the twelve brethren afterwards. I went to Tabernacle to the Friday prayer-meeting in the evening; and, truly, it was a melting time. The good people prayed very feelingly for me as their new pastor. Monday: yesterday the funeral sermons were preached, Mr. Collison in the morning at Tottenham; A. Reed in the evening at Tabernacle. The pressures were tremendous: but, through the aid of the police, order was preserved, and danger prevented."

Such are a few of the facts that relate to the Rev. Matthew Wilks, which amply suffice for our present purpose. They will furnish an interesting glimpse of the more private character of this most excellent minister at the close of his career. The author is the less disposed to enlarge, even if his limits allowed it, because he anticipates a future opportunity of giving a full exhibition of his life and labours as a Christian pastor and a public man.

REV. DR. BOGUE.

David Bogue was born at Dowlau, in the parish of Coldingham, Berwickshire, February the 18th, 1750. His father, John Bogue, was a man of considerable landed property, and of great piety. David's ancestors, on both the maternal and paternal side, had been distinguished for religion and the love of constitutional liberty. Having acquired the elements of learning at a grammar-school, he proceeded to Edinburgh in 1762, and took his degree of M.A. in March, 1771. Of the circumstances which led to his conversion, or attended it, and of the period about which the Lord called him by his grace, nothing is known; but it is

* This admirably conducted funeral was managed by Mr. Selby, of Leonard's Square, undertaker, one of the office-bearers of the Tabernacle, to whom Mr. Wilks had an extraordinary attachment, founded on a thorough knowledge of the virtues of his character.

certain that he gave early indications of the fear of God, and of a relish for divine things. On completing his studies he was licensed as a preacher of the Established Church of Scotland. He preached very little, however, in the pulpits of that community, and was the early, resolute, and conscientious opponent of the system of patronage which characterised it; and rather than solicit or accept ecclesiastical employment from the hands of a patron, without the expressed concurrence of a people, he left his country and repaired to the metropolis of England. He found no opening for the exercise of his ministry; but that he might procure an honest livelihood without burdening his parents, he nobly condescended to undertake the humble duties of an usher. He discharged this honourable function successively at Edmonton, Hampstead, and Chelsea. In the latter situation he likewise assisted his principal, Mr. Smith, in his ministerial duties at Silver-street, as also at the Presbyterian congregation at Camberwell, and was exceedingly happy in that connexion.

Having been invited to the pastorship of the Scotch church at Amsterdam, on March the 19th, 1776, he went over to Holland; but from the spiritual aspect of the congregation, and the limited sphere presented to him, he declined the overture. At this time he cherished a strong regard for Presbyterianism, but shortly after he began to look with favour on Independency; and he ultimately cast in his lot among the churches which adhere to that polity. But neither then nor in after life had he ever any very fixed notions upon the subject of church government. In the course of the following year he accepted the pastoral charge of the church at Gosport. On this occasion he displayed some of those exalted sentiments, which so much distinguished his subsequent career. According to the custom which then prevailed, and which still prevails, in certain divisions of the Christian world, he was invited to become a "probationer" or "candidate" for the office; but he promptly declined the request from an aversion to what he considered, whether correctly or not, a prostitution of his office. On a subsequent occasion, however, he consented to

a casual occupancy of the pulpit, which resulted in a cordial invitation to the pastorship. The prospect was far from promising, for the church had been divided, and its leaders had not been much distinguished by the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit. Mr. Bogue, however, succeeded to restore some measure of harmony among them, and his great weight of character did much, ultimately, to promote the "keeping of the peace" among such as were but little influenced by Christian principle.

In the year 1787, he was married at Colchester to Miss Charlotte Uffington—a union which was attended with much felicity. About two years after this, he commenced the tuition of young men for the Christian ministry, under the auspices of Mr. Welsh, a banker in London, who was desirous to rear a body of plain preachers for the illumination of the dark places of the country. In this species of labour, for which he was qualified in a very extraordinary degree, the Lord blessed him with eminent success, in the midst of which he was solicited to leave England and embark for India, to labour the rest of his days among its idolatrous millions. To this proposal, which was made by his friend, Robert Haldane, Esq., who generously undertook to bear all expenses and to go in person, he yielded a prompt compliance; but the jealousy of the government rendered the noble project wholly abortive. The zeal of Mr. Bogue, although checked, suffered no abatement of its force, but broke forth with increased power in new modes of diffusing the gospel at home and in foreign lands. A seminary for the training of Missionaries was opened at Gosport, which long supplied him with employment of a kind very congenial to the best feelings of his heart. After the Peace of Amiens, in company with Mr. M. Wilks and others, he visited Paris on a mission connected with the diffusion of the Scriptures—an undertaking which led to his Essay on the Inspiration of the New Testament.

The honours and usefulness of Mr. Bogue went on increasing from year to year; and in 1815 he was honoured with a diploma of D.D. from Yale College, America. He made successive visits to Scotland, Ireland, and the Conti-

nent, for objects of gospel propagation. He also engaged in various limited undertakings of a literary character, but his sphere was action.

The autumn of life was attended with the usual measure of clouds and storms. In 1819 he lost his three brothers, George, John, and Jacob, in the space of a very few months; and this was only the beginning of sorrows. Death made great inroads on his own family, and before he was called home, he had but few relatives to leave behind him, to cherish his memory or to weep at his sepulchre.

This great man exchanged worlds at Brighton, in the house of the Rev. Mr. Goulty, on the 25th of October, 1825, sincerely lamented by multitudes of the people of God. On the 1st of November his mortal remains were carried to Gosport, attended by a deputation from the London Missionary Society. At the funeral, Mr. Griffin, of Portsea, delivered an address; in the evening, Dr. Winter preached a funeral sermon; and on Wednesday, November the 16th, his eminent friend and pupil, Dr. James Bennett, was appropriately selected to preach another funeral sermon in London before the friends and remaining founders of the London Missionary Society.

Such are the leading facts of the life of Dr. Bogue, a man who did much to affect the destinies of millions of the human race, and who has left behind him a character deeply stamped by features of intellectual greatness, and spiritual purity.*

REV. JOHN EYRE.

John Eyre was born in the year 1754, at Bodmin, Cornwall. His youth was passed without God, but, at an early period, he became the subject of convictions; and he was speedily brought to the knowledge of the Son of God through reading Hervey's Dialogues. He was from that time filled with zeal and love. He laboured hard, amid great discouragements, to turn others also from darkness to light. His chief opponent in this great work was his own

* See Life of Dr. Bogue, by Dr. Bennett.

father, who tried every expedient, but without success, to detach him from religious pursuits, and to fix his spirit down to secular objects. He at length, therefore, expelled his son from under the roof which had sheltered his infancy, with a single guinea in his pocket, and a servant and horse to conduct him to the next town. The young Christian, however, was not to be shaken; and his Heavenly Father opened a door for him in the house of a good man, Mr. Brown, of Plymouth, who was the honoured instrument of soon introducing him to the college at Trevecca, where he quickly attracted the notice and won the favour of the excellent Countess. Having completed his studies, he preached in various country stations, till at length he was appointed for a short period to supply at Mulberry Gardens chapel, London.

About this time he resolved on entering the Established Church. He accordingly proceeded to Emanuel College, Oxford, in the year 1778, and from the advanced state of his education, in the month of May, 1779, he was admitted to deacon's orders; and, at the close of the year, he was admitted to the curacy of Weston. Soon after this, it was his happiness to become the assistant of Mr. Cecil, at Lewes, where he remained till 1781, when he became the curate of the late Hon. and Rev. W. B. Cadogan, vicar of St. Giles in that town. In 1782 he removed to St. Luke's, Chelsea, at the instance of Mr. Cadogan, who held the rectory of that parish. In 1785 he married, and, about the same time, settled at Homerton as minister of the Episcopal Chapel. Here the good man found a resting-place to his feet; and here he laboured with great zeal and abundant success to promote the divine glory.

We have already shown to what extent he was an influential agent in establishing the Evangelical Magazine, and in forming the London Missionary Society; but there was a third object with which his name has become indissolubly associated—the Theological Seminary at Hackney, and its important accompaniment, the Village Itinerancy—institutions which have ushered into the ministry some eminent

men, and contributed much to the spiritual welfare of many portions of our country.

On Lord's day, March 28, 1803, Mr. Eyre was attacked with violent pains in the head, and in the course of a few days he slept in Jesus. His attached friend, the Rev. George Collison, the venerable president of the Theological Seminary* at Hackney, has published an interesting memoir of Mr. Eyre.

REV. DR. HAWEIS.

Thomas Haweis was born, in 1733, of an ancient and honourable family in Cornwall. When his education was completed he was apprenticed to a medical practitioner at Truro, in Cornwall, a circumstance which brought him into contact with the late Mr. Walker, whose ministry was the means of his conversion. That wise and penetrating person soon perceived the gifts and capabilities of his son in the gospel, and encouraged him to devote himself to the preaching of the word; accordingly, when his indenture expired, he entered the University of Oxford. In that famous seat of learning he cultivated the pursuit of various knowledge, and, above all, the knowledge of the gospel of Christ. When his course had terminated, he was ordained to the curacy of St. Mary's church, Oxford, where he sounded, with great effect, the trumpet of salvation throughout a period of seven years. Here he burned and shone like a star of the first magnitude, till Bishop Hume, as if impatient of the presence of such excellence, expelled him! Conscious of no crime, he feared no investigation; he courted inquiry; he demanded it; he implored it at the hands of Archbishop Secker, who coolly, or rather cruelly, answered:—"Sir, whether *you gave* the offence, or *they took* it, I shall not take upon myself to determine." Thus was a good minister of Jesus Christ torn from his flock, and turned adrift upon the world, to find labour where he could, or to remain silent for ever.

*The secretary to the Village Itinerancy, Mr. Edward Ashby, author of a volume of essays and poems, of considerable merit, is the son-in-law of the Rev. John Eyre.

The trials, however, of this eminent man did not terminate with this distressing event. The wrongs perpetrated by one bishop were made a reason for unjust and dishonourable conduct towards him by another. The Bishop of Rochester was the prelate to whom belonged the honour or the infamy of refusing a licence to Mr. Haweis, on two grounds—he had been persecuted and driven from Oxford because of his evangelical doctrine, and his great popularity; and he had preached at the Lock Hospital, a place noted for the proclamation of Christ crucified.

We now approach the most trying period of Mr. Haweis's life, that of his entrance on the ministerial duties of the parish of Aldwincle, Northamptonshire. A Mr. Kimpton, incumbent of that parish, through prodigality and debt, found his way to the King's Bench, in which he was so long detained from his duties, that the living was about to have lapsed into the hands of the bishop. In this plight, Kimpton was shut up to the alternative of parting with the advowson, or soliciting the bishop's permission to appoint some one to fill the pulpit till his release. The prelate peremptorily refused the latter, and the former only remained. Mr. Madan introduced Haweis to Kimpton, who presented him to the living. To this transaction there were only these three parties; and, whatever may have been implied, certainly nothing was expressed on the subject of pecuniary consideration. Shortly after the execution of the deed of assignment, a person came forward with an offer to Kimpton of a thousand guineas for the advowson. The poor prisoner, in consequence, expressed a hope to Haweis that, under the circumstances, he would either surrender the living, or make a compensation equal to the amount thus tendered. Haweis refused to do either, on the ground that the assignment had been wholly unconditional. The truth of this declaration was attested by Madan, and not denied by Kimpton, who nevertheless insisted that compensation was understood and implied on both sides. A hot controversy ensued; and public opinion declared for Kimpton, who was still in prison, his son also having become insane, and his whole family reduced to a state of utter destitution.

Malice and calumny soon darkened the atmosphere of the litigants. Madan and Haweis, conscious of integrity, resolutely resisted that in the form of a *debt*, which hearts so noble and generous as theirs might at once have tendered as a *gift*. To such a pitch did things shortly arise, that the door was quite closed against any attempt at arrangement. Madan and Haweis consulted the highest legal authorities, and were fully sustained in their course by the opinion of the Lord Chancellor; but gospel feeling was still, to some extent, opposed to legal justice. Whitfield, Mr. S. Brewer, Mr. Thornton, and others, considered that Kimpton had at least a claim in *equity;* while Lord Dartmouth, Mr. Newton, Mr. Venn, and others, persons of equal worth and judgment, maintained that, to admit a claim, not founded in any compact, implied or expressed, was an act at variance equally with justice to their own character, and respect to the laws of their country enacted against Simoniacal practices.

Events of the above description are always a calamity, and are sure, to some extent, to entail reproach on the character even of the most perfect innocence. Too many are ever ready to say "report, and we will report it." Falsehood flies, but truth moves slowly; and the lie also finds a readier entrance into the hearts of mankind than the correction. What the depraved spirit of the multitude calls for, is something not to confute but to confirm the slander! It has already appeared that the Countess of Huntingdon was among those who differed from the view of Haweis and Madan. But, notwithstanding this difference, it is clear beyond controversy, that her ladyship had the most exalted conception of his moral integrity and Christian worth. Let his slanderers, therefore, remember that this distinguished person was proud to employ him as one of her preachers—conferred on him the honour of being one of her chaplains—and appointed him by will her principal trustee and manager of her numerous chapels.

Previous pages bear ample testimony to the important part which Dr. Haweis took in the formation and first movements of the London Missionary Society, and in the esta-

blishment of the first mission to the South Seas. His splendid eloquence and generous enthusiasm contributed pre-eminently to these great objects. His sanguine anticipations, it is true, were for many years utterly disappointed; but, before he was gathered to his fathers, some of the most magnificent of his pictures were fully realized. On February the 11th, 1820, he died in peace, full of age and of honour, preceded by works of faith and labours of love, and leaving behind him a spotless reputation.

REV. DR. WILLIAMS.

Edward Williams, whom we have seen acting a very important part, in relation to missions, as the organ of the Warwickshire Association, was born November the 14th, 1750, at Glanclyd, near Denbigh, Wales. His parents were kind but not religious, yet they desired to make their son a clergyman; and, with this view, after the usual elementary lessons, they sent Edward to a school at St. Asaph's, to prepare for the University. He was now in his twelfth year, and about this time he became fully awakened to the realities of eternity. After three years of study he declined the Church. His father then proposed the Law; Edward also decided against that; and at last his father determined to make him a farmer and grazier—a circumstance which was very injurious to his spiritual interests. God, however, was with him, and soon revived his work in his soul. After the decided manifestation of spiritual religion, his father became hostile to him; but persecution gave way to a proposal by his parent once more to prepare for the Church. Edward complied, and entered afresh on his studies; but the conduct of certain ungodly clergymen led to contemplations which issued in his renouncing all thoughts of the ministry of the Establishment. His disappointed and indignant father sent him to the farm again! He was obedient, but he, at the same time, became a member of an Independent church under the pastoral care of the Rev. Daniel Lloyd, of Denbigh.

The heart of Edward was now at ease, and he laid him-

self out for God in all possible ways of exertion. Encouraged by his pastor, in 1771 he entered upon a course of study for the ministry under Dr. Davies, of Abergavenny. He pursued his studies with great success, and, on their completion, became pastor of a church at Ross, in Herefordshire, and was ordained in March, 1776. In this small place, by hard study, he laid the foundation of all his future celebrity as a theologian. In 1777, he married; and, in the autumn of the same year, he accepted an invitation to Oswestry, where he laboured for a season with great industry and corresponding success. On the removal of Dr. Davies to Homerton, early in 1782, the seminary at Abergavenny was removed to Oswestry, and placed under the tuition of Mr. Williams. New fields of inquiry now opened to him, and he prosecuted his researches with an intensity which few have surpassed. His reply to Booth's "Pedo-Baptism Examined," was written there; and there also he abridged Owen on the Hebrews; and besides he published several minor pieces.

A variety of afflictions, personal and relative, induced him at length to resign the academy, and in 1792, he accepted the pastoral charge of the church in Carr's-lane, Birmingham. Here he became connected with the Evangelical Magazine, of which, for a time, he was an editor; and here, too, he acted the important part assigned him, in a previous page, in the Warwickshire Association, in relation to Christian Missions. In 1795, he removed to Yorkshire to act as tutor of Rotherham College, where he continued to the end of his days, which terminated March the 19th, 1813, a period during which he put forth more intellectual effort than most men could sustain, powerfully subserved the cause of truth, and achieved for himself the fame of one of the first writers of his age and country.*

REV. SAMUEL GREATHEED, F.A.S.

Samuel Greatheed was, in all respects, one of the most accomplished men of his time. He stood forth with marked

* See Gilbert's admirable Memoirs of Dr. Williams.

prominence among the honoured band who formed the London Missionary Society. Little is known of his early history; he was born in London, of parents highly respectable, and trained for a military engineer; and after the completion of his studies, he was sent out in his professional character to the Canadas. On going abroad he was ignorant of Divine truth, but was there brought from darkness to light; and proceeding thence, in the discharge of his duties, to St. John's, Newfoundland, he entered the fellowship of a congregational church. On returning to England he resigned his commission, and became a student for the ministry at Newport Pagnel, under the tuition of the late Mr. Bull, with whom he was ultimately associated in the work of instruction.

In 1788 he married a lady of Newport Pagnel, and about the same time accepted an invitation to the pastoral office in the congregational church at Woburn, Bedfordshire. In this capacity he laboured many years; but at length, through infirm health, he was obliged to call in an assistant, and ultimately to resign his charge.

He was a principal contributor to the Evangelical Magazine from its commencement to his death, and not a few of the best papers of that excellent publication are from his pen. He had also not only the honour of a leading share in the establishment of the Eclectic Review, but of being, by the common consent of its founders, its editor for several years. From his taste, habits, varied knowledge, power of analysis, and terse, vigorous style, he was peculiarly adapted to such an undertaking. His own quarto copy of the original voyage of the Duff, which is in our possession, shows at once the intellectual character of the man, and his remarkable industry. Its copious margin is largely filled with notes on a great variety of subjects connected with the mission. These notes appear to have been made from time to time as certain events arose to prompt them. When we procured the volume we considered it a treasure, and carried it off with the "joy of one who had found great spoil." Such is the value which, in our esteem, attaches to it, that it has never ceased to be a matter of astonishment with us, how his

family could ever have allowed such a work to come into the hands of a dealer in old books. Dr. Morison, we suspect, gives the true solution, when he accounts for the non-appearance of certain works of great value, which were known to be in a state of forwardness at his death, by saying, "The truth is, his family are now in the church of England, and perhaps they shrink from publishing the works of a Non-conformist." The same cause may serve to explain both the facts.

The most momentous event of Mr. Greatheed's life was the formation of the London Missionary Society, to which he very powerfully contributed. From previous parts of this volume it has appeared, that he was, in all matters relating to it, a principal mover, a man to whose judgment the utmost deference was always paid.*

REV. GEORGE BURDER.

George Burder was born in London, about the year 1752. His father was, for many years, a deacon of the church in Fetter-lane, and his mother was a convert of Whitfield. While such was his descent, he was also, at an early period, brought into contact with the mind and ministry of men, of whom the world was not worthy—men, the boast of their nation, and the chief ornaments of their age—Whitfield and Fletcher, of Madeley. In youth he received a good education; and from exercise, as a preacher of righteousness, he speedily acquired a considerable facility of expression. In 1778 he gave up the pursuits of business, and accepted the pastoral charge of a church in Lancaster, where he commenced that career of holy activity, which distinguished the whole of his future existence. In the year 1783 he received an invitation to Coventry, where he settled, and brought forth fruit abundantly to the praise of his exalted Lord and Master.

Mr. Burder was one of the famous Warwickshire Association, who, as has been already stated, took the lead in the work of Missions. He was one of three, who were appointed

* See Dr. Morison's "Fathers," &c.

to conduct its affairs, for the first year. He was also present at the first meeting of the London Missionary Society, and occupied a foremost place in all the proceedings of that momentous enterprise. In 1803, he received a threefold invitation, to succeed the Rev. John Eyre, as Secretary of the London Missionary Society, to act as editor of the Evangelical Magazine, and also to become the pastor of the church assembling in Fetter-lane. To this invitation he gave a favourable ear; and, ultimately, accepted the several offices thus presented to him. He sustained the varied duties which devolved on him with great success; and gave as much satisfaction to all concerned as probably any other man, in the three kingdoms, could have yielded.

In 1827, Mr. Burder resigned the office of Secretary to the Missionary Society,—an office in which, according to the opinion of those best able to judge, his silent and ceaseless industry, the candour of his mind, and the gentleness of his manners, with his undeviating pursuit of the sacred object of the institution, formed a loss which could not be easily repaired. He died in 1832, in the 80th year of his age, and was buried in Bunhill Fields.*

REV. DR. LOVE.

John Love was born at Paisley, in the year 1756. At a very early age he entered the University of Glasgow, where he attained to great scholastic distinction; and, after completing his studies, he was licensed to preach in the Established Church of Scotland. After a series of occasional services, he became an assistant to Mr. Maxwell, incumbent of Rutherglen, a village in the vicinity of Glasgow. At first, he neither preached the truth, nor knew it; he attached himself to the party called *moderate*—a term, in Scotland, significant of the absence of everything essential to "a good minister of Jesus Christ." He soon, however, experienced a change of heart, and a corresponding change of views, respecting the doctrines of salvation, which, to the day of his death, he continued to propagate with zeal and

* See his Life by the Rev. Dr. Burder.

success. Leaving Rutherglen, he acted as an assistant, at Greenock, till the death of the Rev. Mr. Turner, his principal, when he accepted the pastoral charge of a church in Artillery-street, Bishopsgate, London. In this connexion he enjoyed little comfort; the number of his flock was small, and their paucity was not compensated by the worth of their individual or collective character. The leaven of an unbridled and lawless democracy was mingled with that of a loathsome antinomianism; and the two together formed an element ill suited to such a mind and heart, as those of John Love.

If, however, Mr. Love seemed to spend his strength for nought as a preacher, he was not without rich and abounding consolation as a philanthropist and a Christian, in his office as one of the first secretaries to the London Missionary Society, in the formation of which he occupied a leading station. His limited engagements, too, as a pastor, permitted a more enlarged attention to the duties of secretary, and to the advancement of the general objects of this great and important institution.

His services, however, as secretary, were not long enjoyed by the Missionary Society; for, in the year 1800, he accepted an invitation to a pastoral charge in Glasgow, which he accepted, as presenting a sphere of labour more encouraging than that which he occupied in London. From this time, to the close of his pilgrimage, he enjoyed an unusual degree of comfort in his ministerial labours. He finished his course with joy, at the close of the year 1825, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

He has left behind him several volumes of sermons, and one of letters has lately appeared. His writings indicate a mind of a peculiar, original, and somewhat mystic character. He never was generally popular, for he never was generally intelligible; he was sometimes deep, sometimes dark, always devout, always evangelical; and in spirit and deportment he was a pattern of every excellence.*

* See Memoir prefixed to his posthumous Sermons.

REV. DR. WAUGH.

Alexander Waugh was born at East Gordon, a village in the county of Berwick, August the 16th, 1754, of parents distinguished for piety, and Christian worth. In the year 1770, he made a public profession of the gospel, by entering the fellowship of the Secession church at Stitchill; and in the autumn of the same year, he entered the University of Edinburgh. Having finished his course at college, he became a student of divinity under the famous Brown, of Haddington, author of the Commentary, and many other works. In 1777 he enjoyed the rare felicity of attending the Lectures of Professors Campbell and Beatie, in Marischal College, Aberdeen; and in 1779, he was licensed by his presbytery to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ. In the course of the same year, he was sent to supply the congregation of Wells-street, London. Having fulfilled his engagement, he returned to Scotland, and was ordained over a small church at Newton, in the county of Roxburgh. In the year 1782, he accepted an invitation to the church at Wells-street, in which he laboured in the duties of the pastorship the rest of his days.

The formation of the Missionary Society was the event which first drew forth Mr. Waugh, and created for him that extended circle of sainted friendship, which he contributed so much to delight and to adorn. He took a very active part in its establishment; in 1797, he preached one of its annual sermons; and, in after life, he travelled and laboured much in its behalf. In the year 1802, he visited France, in company with Messrs. Wilks, Hardcastle, and Bogue, preliminary to the contemplated adoption of means by the Society, for the diffusion of the gospel of peace in that land of heroes, arms, and slaughter. In the year 1812, he visited Ireland, with a view to promote the spirit of Missions. He made repeated journeys into Scotland also, to forward the same cause; and his success was great in both countries. He took a very lively interest in the Bible, the Irish Evangelical, the Hibernian, the Tract, and the Anti-slavery So-

cieties, and, indeed, in every movement, which had for its object the glory of God, and the welfare of mankind.

Much is said of the spirit of this fascinating man, of his benevolence, candour, and catholicity. He appears to have been a fountain of love, which might be said to stream forth through every avenue of his soul. As a husband, a parent, a pastor, a public man, and a citizen, he presented a combination of attributes and excellencies, such as have not often met, in an equal measure, in the same individual.

On the morning of Friday, December the 14th, 1827, he entered into rest, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-second of his ministry, and after he had presided forty-five years over the church assembling in Wells-street.*

REV. ROWLAND HILL, M.A.

Rowland Hill was born at Hawkstone, near Shrewsbury, August 26, 1744. At an early period he was deeply impressed by reading Dr. Watts's hymns for children. At the age of seventeen, he was sent to Eton, where, very unlike most of the youth who have attended that celebrated school, he advanced as rapidly in the knowledge of divine things as of classic literature. He there became decided in the ways of the Lord, and entered upon that course, from which he never afterwards deviated for one hour. From Eton, about the close of 1764, he was removed to Cambridge, where he met with several lights who shone in the midst of the general darkness, of whom Simpson, of Macclesfield, Pentycross, of Wallingford, and Robinson, of Leicester, were the chief. About the same time he became acquainted with the famous vicar of Everton, John Berridge, who was of singular service in promoting his stability in the ways of God, and his courage in the midst of difficulty and opposition, in attempts to do good. About the year 1766, he became acquainted with George Whitfield, whose correspondence contributed exceedingly to the same object.

When the time came to solicit ordination, he found that

* See his Life by Drs. Hay and Belfrage.

his "irregular" efforts to save the souls of perishing sinners were a bar in his way. Hundreds of ungodly men, who neither preached the truth, nor knew it, and whose immoral lives, in many cases, would have scandalized a heathen, were admitted to the episcopal presence, and set apart to the ministry of the Word; but Rowland Hill was repulsed as a man who did discredit to the established church.

On the death of Whitfield, Mr. Hill laboured much, and with vast acceptance, among the churches and congregations assembling in the Tabernacle and Tottenham-court Chapel, who, almost unanimously, looked up to him as a proper person to take the oversight of them in spiritual things. On the other hand, no people on earth had equal attractions for him; but a cause existed—a statement of which we received from his own lips—that prevented his settlement in the pastoral office, among the charges of his departed friend. This was to Mr. Hill matter of the deepest regret.

Mr Hill at length obtained deacon's orders at the hands of Dr. Wallis, bishop of Bath and Wells, a degree beyond which he never advanced; for on asking to be ordained a priest, he was sternly refused. Time did nothing to improve his position. The publication of his "Spiritual Characteristics" for ever settled the business between him and the church. He took his stand, accordingly, as a man of no party, and as the friend of all who loved the Lord Jesus Christ. Wherever he went, thousands flocked to hear him; and he became daily more inclined to itinerant labour. Winter quarters, however, and a resting place became necessary, and, accordingly, in 1782, the foundation of Surrey Chapel was laid, an act before which, as he told the writer, he conveyed the intended edifice to a body of trustees. This much honoured place was opened in 1783, and from that time to the present, it has continued a well of salvation from which the waters of life have issued forth as from a thousand channels, imparting life to perishing multitudes on every side.

Mr. Hill visited Scotland in the year 1798 and 1799, and by his peculiar style of preaching, produced an extraordi-

nary sensation throughout the country, at the same time turning multitudes from darkness to light. His course was viewed with very different feelings by different parties; and the general assembly of the established church deemed it decent, and thought it expedient, to issue a "Pastoral Admonition" to all the parishes of the nation against him. Twice also he visited Ireland, in 1793 and 1796.

Mr. Hill was a warm friend to every institution of a catholic and Christian character. The Book, the Bible, the Tract, and the Missionary Societies were objects of his especial regard. The London Missionary Society, in particular, met his views, and commanded his most cordial and generous support. The theological academy at Hackney, and the Village Itinerancy, were peculiarly dear to him. He left, indeed, the bulk of his fortune to the Village Trust.

Mr. Hill continued his labours almost to the close of his life. He preached his last sermon on March 31st, 1833; he departed this life on the 11th of April; and on the 19th his mortal remains were buried under the pulpit of Surrey Chapel.*

REV. JOHN TOWNSEND.

John Townsend was born in March, 1757, of parents who feared the Lord and his goodness. His father had the honour to be a follower of Whitfield, and, in consequence, to suffer not a little persecution from those who were his nearest and dearest earthly friends. He was educated at Christ's Hospital, where Mr. Pentycross was his schoolfellow in the same ward. After leaving school, he settled for a season under the parental roof, when he attended the Tabernacle, and heard Mr. Peckwell preach from Psa. ciii. 13, which was the means of his conversion. This important event took place in the year 1774, when he united himself to the church of Christ assembling in the Tabernacle. After this he attended prayer meetings, and various religious exercises in which he occasionally participated, and at length

* See Lives of Mr. Hill, by Jones and Sydney.

was led to make attempts at exhortation and preaching. His first public effort was at Mitcham; and after that, he preached in divers places, till at length he was ordained in 1781, over the congregational church at Kingston. The plague of Antinomianism, however, had broken out in that place, which marred his pleasure, impeded his exertions, and, at last, led him to accept the charge of the church assembling in Jamaica-row, Bermondsey, on which he entered in the summer of 1784. Here he was troubled with Arianism; and scarcely had he overcome his difficulties from that cause, when he was assailed with fresh troubles from his old enemy, Antinomianism. Much mischief ensued, but by cutting off those roots of bitterness, which had sprung up and defiled many, the plague was stayed, peace was restored, and it happily prevailed during the space of half a century—the period of his honoured ministrations.

After Mr. Townsend's settlement in Bermondsey, he became one of the most active, useful, and influential ministers of his time. Among his works of faith, a distinguished place is due to the "Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb." This most important institution was projected and established in London by Mr. Townsend and Mr. Cox Mason, in the year 1792. He raised for this work the great sum of £6,000, by his own individual exertions; and he had the further satisfaction of knowing, before he left the world, that similar institutions were established in many parts of Great Britain, and elsewhere.

The next great work in which he embarked, was the foundation of the London Missionary Society. He participated in this mighty undertaking from the first meeting in reference to it, which was held on the 5th of November in Baker's coffee-house, and attended by Messrs. Bogue, Brooksbank, Eyre, Love, Reynolds, Stevens, and Wilks. He likewise took a leading part in most of the other great movements of his time, such as the Bible, Tract, and other Societies. He also founded the Congregational school for the education of the sons of ministers with large families and defective incomes.

This excellent minister of Christ was called to his rest

early in February 1826, loved and lamented by all who knew him.*

REV. DR. STEVEN.

James Steven was born in Kilmarnock, June, 1761, of parents more distinguished for piety and worth than for their worldly circumstances. He entered the University of Glasgow at an early age, and after finishing his studies was licensed, about the year 1786, to preach the gospel, by the presbytery of Paisley. Shortly after this, he was called to assist the Rev. Mr. Dow, of Ardrossan, a small sea-port town on the coast of Ayrshire, from which he was soon called to London to the pastoral charge of the Scottish congregation in Crown Court, amongst whom he settled in 1787. Here he laboured with much success during a period of about sixteen years; till he removed to Scotland in 1803, to exercise the pastoral office in the village parish of Kilwinning. Mr. Steven, as we have seen, was one of the founders of the London Missionary Society, and preached one of the annual sermons in 1811.

Dr. Steven was a preacher of a very superior order, and commanded great attention both in Scotland, and in the English metropolis. He sustained his rank as an effective public instructor to the last. Early in the year 1824, he commenced a course of sermons on 1 Tim. iii. 16, and on Sunday, February the 15th, he finished the series by a discourse on the last clause, "received up into glory." He went through the work of the day with even more than his accustomed vigour, and, returning to his parsonage, dined with his family, cheerful and happy. Dinner being ended, he retired to his study, as had for many years been his custom, for private devotion; and seeing "Henry on Prayer," which Mrs. Steven had been reading, he took it up and said, "You need not be afraid, my dear, that I am going to deprive you of your book; get tea ready early, when I shall be down, and faithfully restore it to you." Shortly after he entered his study, his daughter, who was in the next room,

* See his "Memoirs," &c.

thought she heard the noise of something falling; and, on gently opening the door of the study, she perceived that the book had dropt, and that her beloved parent leaned back on his chair, rather inclining to one side. She went up and addressed him, but he was silent, and seemed as if life were gone. In the utmost alarm she called her mother, who hastened to her husband; but his spirit had too obviously fled from the presence of his family to that of his God. Medical aid was immediately called in, and the usual means employed, but without effect. His days were numbered, and his work was done. His loss was severely felt, and the suddenness of his death produced a great sensation. His last text, with the circumstances attending his death, is inscribed on his tombstone, which the writer has read with devout awe as he stood among the sepulchres that surround it.*

REV. DR. HUNTER.

Henry Hunter was born at Culross, Perthshire, August, 1741, of parents not altogether unworthy their celebrated son. Having passed through the usual course of parish-school education, he entered the University of Edinburgh at the early age of thirteen. His college courses being finished, on May the 2nd, 1764, he was licensed by his presbytery to preach the gospel. His talents were eminently popular, and several of the first charges in the church were offered to his acceptance; but he gave the preference to the kirk of South Leith, to which he was ordained in January, 1766. In the May following he married, and became truly happy in his domestic and parochial relationships, and seemed to himself to be settled for ever; but the head of the church had otherwise determined.

In the course of the year 1769, Mr. Hunter visited the metropolis, and preached in the Scotch churches, more especially in Swallow Street and London Wall; and shortly

* See Memoir of Dr. Steven by his worthy son, the minister of Stewarton, in the Edinburgh Christian Instructor, Sept. 1838.

after his return to Leith, he received an invitation to the pastoral charge of the former place, which, however, he declined to accept; but about a year and six months afterwards, on the decease of the Rev. Mr. Lawson, he received a call to the church at London Wall, with which he complied; and accordingly commenced his ministrations there in the autumn of 1771.

Mr. Hunter at once took a very high stand in the metropolis as a preacher. His services were eagerly solicited by the conductors of most of the popular charities of that day, and wherever he appeared attendances were great and collections liberal. He was not merely a great preacher, but had a taste and a capacity for business in connexion with benevolence and religion, such as fall to the lot of few men of letters—a class to which he unquestionably belonged. To an eloquent tongue, he added a ready and industrious pen. In 1784, he gave to the world the first and second volumes of his "Sacred Biography," which were cordially received and eagerly read by multitudes. He was an excellent French scholar, and turned his attainments in that way to account, by extensively engaging in the work of translation. The subjects of his labour in this mode were Lavater's "Essays," "Euler's letters to a German Princess," Saurin's "Sermons," in continuation of Robinson, St. Pierre's "Studies of Nature," &c. It was indeed considered by some that he was more addicted to literary pursuits than was consistent with, at least, a very intense prosecution of his pastoral duties; but it may be questioned whether his clerical censors in relation to the former, were all nearly his equals in respect to the latter. Envy had probably more to do with the complaint than zeal. Had he, like many others, passed his days in quietness and sloth, no fault had been found. It would have been charitably assumed that since he did nothing for the public he did much for his flock. Publication is a most erroneous test by which to measure pastoral labour. Many of the most voluminous and elaborate authors have been the most effective pastors that ever blessed the churches of Christ. Everything turns upon

intellectual opulence, mental activity, a ready pen, and economy of time. The labours of the press, moreover, always bear more or less directly upon those of the pulpit; and even granting that there is force in the objection, it may still be true that what is lost to a single flock may be gained to a whole nation; and that, by means of the press, the usefulness of a short life may be extended through many ages.

Mr. Hunter, as our pages have already shown, stood prominently forth among the founders of the London Missionary Society; an institution which was dear to his heart, and received much important aid from his gifts and influence. In 1796, he delivered the address to the first missionaries.

In his latter years his health failed, and he became the subject, at times, of the deepest depression; but still he held on his way in the strength of the Lord God. From time to time, amid many bereavements and much domestic sorrow, his "Sacred Biography" advanced, till, in 1802, the seventh and concluding volume appeared. His career had now reached its close; and on the morning of June 20th, 1802, he was seized in the pulpit in a manner which interrupted the service—a seizure which was repeated some weeks afterwards; and on September the 26th he made his last appearance in the house of God. His illness rapidly increased; by medical advice he repaired to Bath, and also visited Bristol, but nothing could arrest the progress of decay, and on the 27th of October he breathed his last, in the sixty-second year of his age. His body was brought to London, and buried in Bunhill Fields. A huge monumental pillar was erected over his grave, which bears a splendid inscription from the pen of his friend, W. B. Collyer, D.D.—an inscription which truly asserts that "In him, to talents the most illustrious, and a mind the most capacious, were united energy of disposition, elegance of manners, benevolence of heart, and warmth of affection."*

* See the "Sketch" prefixed to his posthumous "Sermons," which comprise his Sacramental Discourses, &c.; and also "Recollections of Dr. Hunter," by Dr. Collyer, in Dr. Morison's "Fathers," &c.

REV. JOSEPH BROOKSBANK.

Joseph Brooksbank was a native of Yorkshire, and born at Thornton, near Bradford, early in 1762. He was in his youth brought to the knowledge of the Lord; and in September, 1780, he was admitted to Homerton College, to prepare for the work of the ministry. On the completion of his course, he was chosen to the pastoral office, by the church assembling at Haberdashers' Hall Chapel, in September, 1785. For a time he was considerably popular, but in his latter years his adherents dwindled away to "a thing of nought;" but he still held fast his integrity, and sincerely sought to glorify God to the best of his ability.

The most distinguishing circumstance of his life was his connexion with the formation of the London Missionary Society. He was one of its first, and to the end one of its most faithful friends. In his place of worship the first missionary communion was held; in it one of the first missionary sermons was preached; and in it, too, during many years the meetings for public business were convened. Mr. Brooksbank finished his course in the month of April, 1825, and in the sixty-third year of his age.*

REV. WILLIAM KINGSBURY, M.A.

William Kingsbury was born in Bishopsgate-street, London, in July, 1741, of parents eminent for Christian excellence. He was educated first at Merchant Tailors' School, and subsequently at Christ's Hospital. He was afterwards trained in the institution at Mile End, under the tuition of Drs. Gibbons, Conder, and Walker. On the completion of his studies he accepted an invitation to the pastoral office from the Congregational Church at Southampton, and was ordained its pastor in the month of October, 1765. At this time the number of members was only twenty-seven, and the congregation a mere handful; but through much prayerful exertion he soon raised it to respect-

* See a Memoir by his son, in the Evangelical Magazine for August, 1825.

ability, both in point of numbers and of character. He gave much of his attention to the young; he was a prime instrument in the establishment of Sunday schools in Southampton; and he was a strenuous advocate of village preaching. In 1798 he wrote an able "Apology for Village Preachers."

Active, influential, and effective in all movements with which he was associated, he was chiefly drawn forth by the formation and subsequent operations of the London Missionary Society. Not one of his contemporaries entered more cordially into its mighty objects. Although somewhat advanced in years, he entered upon the glorious enterprise with all the ardour of youthful zeal. He was delegated by his congregation to attend the primary meeting in London, at which he had the high honour of being chosen the first moderator. On returning to his charge, he rehearsed the events of that memorable week, which so excited their Christian zeal, that they immediately proceeded to make contributions for its advancement. Theirs, too, was the enviable honour to make the first country collection for the Mission, which amounted to no less a sum than 287*l*. The earlier pages of this volume testify to the interest which his excellent people took in the South-Sea enterprise. They experienced the truth of the promise, that they who water others shall themselves be watered. The infusion amongst them of the spirit of Missions proved, as in other cases it hath often done, the spirit of life. The church under his care, from that time, flourished to an extent which had not been known for many years.

This distinguished man continued to labour in the vineyard of the Lord till the year 1809, when accumulated infirmities and a stroke of paralysis induced him to resign the charge of his faithful flock. This was an act which cost him much anguish of heart, but he felt his incompetency, and resolutely sacrificed feeling to duty. The church which had enjoyed so long the honour and advantage of his excellent ministry were reluctant to part with the venerable shepherd; but when his services were no longer available they remembered the claims of the faithful labourer, and

immediately settled on him the sum of 200*l.* per annum for the remainder of his life; but the grateful pastor, whose family was now grown up and settled, and his personal wants very few, would only accept the sum of 120*l.*, which, with a very small pittance of his own, served to soothe the remainder of his pilgrimage. He spent the rest of his days in sweet and useful retirement, till February the 18th, 1818, when with "his hands and eyes lifted up in the attitude of devotion, he drew a long breath, and without a groan or convulsion expired."*

REV. WILLIAM GRAHAM.

William Graham was born at Carriden, near Borrowstoness, on the banks of the Frith of Forth, Fifeshire. Being intended for the law, his friends, having given him a superior grammar-school education, afterwards fixed him with a legal practitioner in Edinburgh. Here he remained three years, but law possessed no attractions for him, although few men possessed a larger measure of the great and peculiar qualities which are essential to eminence in legal pursuits. No sooner was he emancipated from the bondage of a law office, than he forthwith commenced a course of study for the ministry, under the auspices of the Secession church in Scotland; and in 1758 he was licensed by that venerable body to preach the gospel. In the course of the following year, he was ordained to the pastorship of a Secession congregation in Whitehaven. In 1771 he accepted an invitation to a charge in the same connexion, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where he continued to labour till the close of his life. Thirty years did that important town enjoy his enlightened and powerful ministrations. In latter years, however, his health completely broke down; and in October, 1800, he was visited with a stroke of paralysis. From that time his toils were drawing to an end, and in the month of January, 1801, he passed into eternity, loved and honoured by all that knew him.†

* See Bullar's Memoirs of Kingsbury.

† See Dr. Morison's excellent Sketch of Graham.

It is much to be regretted that we have no amplified detail of this truly great man. Until Dr. Morison, with much labour and difficulty, rescued a few of the leading facts of his history, even literary men knew nothing of him beyond his splendid name. He appears to have been utterly careless of his own fame, and his friends have done nothing to compensate for his negligence. It has long been with us a settled opinion—an opinion in which we are glad to find that Dr. Morison fully concurs—that he was "a man far before his age." He was, in our view, incomparably the most enlightened man of his time on the subject of ecclesiastical polity, so far as that fact can be ascertained by the publications which have come down to us. His far-sightedness into the principles, relations, and results of ecclesiastical establishments were truly astonishing. This great and all-absorbing theme, in all its magnitude, complicatedness, and difficulty, was fairly within the grasp of his powerful mind. To his capacious and philosophic intellect it was clearly and incontrovertibly apparent, that this question is one of a most extended character, and one which ramifies itself in every direction.

It were a pleasing exercise to enlarge upon his views, and to attempt an analysis of his mind and character, did our object require and our limits permit us; but we have to do with him chiefly in relation to the London Missionary Society, and missions, generally. This great subject filled his generous soul with corresponding emotions. He distinctly foresaw that it is destined one day to become the grand object of human pursuit, to engross the minds of men, to employ the resources of kingdoms and the energies of empires. No man ever more distinctly comprehended the subject of Christian unity and free communion, and the bearing of these points upon the Missionary enterprise, than Graham. He was not more enlightened on the subject of Religious Establishments than on the subject of Christian Missions. There lies before us a publication of his, now very rare, entitled, "An Essay, tending to remove certain Scruples, respecting the Constitution and Direction of Missionary Societies, especially that of London, in a Letter to a

Minister," printed and published at Newcastle, in 1796. This letter is one of the finest articles on the subject of Missions and of free communion that was ever penned. If there still exist any of the class for whose benefit the eloquent logician wrote, they may safely be recommended to these conclusive pages, for a most masterly answer to every objection, and a brilliant exhibition of the great principle of Christian fellowship.

CHAPTER II.

LAY FOUNDERS OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Daniel West, Esq.—Joseph Hardcastle, Esq.—William Shrubsole, Esq.—Robert Steven, Esq.—Captain James Wilson—John Wilson, Esq.

With respect to the Ministerial Founders of the London Missionary Society, we have adopted the principle of selection; and the same principle must regulate our notices of their lay coadjutors. The lives of most of these honoured men supplied but few materials for history. Of Messrs. Alday, Audley, Cowie, Campbell, and Neal, nothing is known sufficient to admit even of the slightest notice; and the same is the case with respect to Sir E. Leigh. The following gentlemen, however, supply, each respectively, a few important facts, and they are all entitled to respectful mention on the common ground, that they were chief actors among the Founders and first Directors, and some of them on grounds peculiar to themselves. Among those who occupy this peculiar ground, the first place, in our judgment, without controversy, is due to the venerated Daniel West, from his hoary hairs, his connexion with Whitfield, and the honourable office he sustained in the churches of Christ founded by that apostolic labourer in God's vineyard.

DANIEL WEST, ESQ.

Daniel West was born in the year 1726, and there is reason to believe that, at an early age, he was brought to the knowledge of the truth. The place of his birth, however, and the time of his conversion, are points which we have not been able to determine. It is, nevertheless, fully ascertained that when, at most, little more than thirty years

of age, he became intimately acquainted with Whitfield, was affectionately attached to his person, and honoured with his highest confidence. A considerable time before the great preacher's death, West, together with Hardy and Keen, was in the management of his chapels. It is even probable, that, at an early day, he took the lead in the management. If unstudied and natural correspondence be an index to the footing on which people live, it is certain that these men were bosom friends. The following note from the papers of the Tabernacle house, addressed to Whitfield, in the year previous to his death, may serve as a specimen. It refers to a remittance which West, as manager, sent to Whitfield as minister; it is dated Church-street, June, 1769, and runs thus:—

"My dear friend,—'Tis with the greatest pleasure I send you the enclosed two hundred pounds. I have likewise sent you back your note, which you will be so good as to keep for me till Monday. May our dear Lord Jesus bless and prosper you in all your ways. I can write no more through faintness; but blessed be God, though he has given me at present a weak and faint body, I hope I am pursuing. Pray for the vilest of the vile, Daniel West."

On the departure of Whitfield for America in the following year, West, Keen, and Hardy were left in the management of the chapels; and in the Will of Whitfield, subsequently made, he left to West and Keen, in survivorship, both the Tabernacle and Tottenham-court chapel. Hardy, after this event, ceased to act, and, therefore, the whole business of the places devolved on West and Keen. Never were two individuals more happily associated; on almost every point they saw eye to eye. Uninterrupted harmony characterised all their movements, till death divided them. They went hand in hand with the ministers, and were held in the profoundest esteem by the congregations whose welfare was their constant study. On January, 1793, Mr. Keen ascended to the tabernacle in the skies, the house made without hands, eternal in the heavens. Immediately on the death of Keen, Mr. West associated with himself Samuel Foyster, Esq., in the management.

Mr. West, for many years previous to his death, had been the subject of a most painful malady, by which he was, in a great measure, robbed of rest both night and day. For thirteen years, it is affirmed by those who intimately knew him, that he never enjoyed one full hour's repose; yet was he never heard to murmur. His patience, fortitude, and cheerfulness excited the astonishment of all who witnessed them. Those attributes of his character struck every one but himself; for he never dropt the most distant hint that could be construed into self-approbation either of his labours or his graces: on the contrary, he always spoke of himself in the most humiliating terms, and always appeared to be truly grateful for the slightest attentions paid to him by his friends.

After a lengthened course of honourable service in the cause of God, on Tuesday, September the 6th, 1796, Mr. West was taken very ill at Tottenham-court chapel-house, and obliged to return home before the commencement of the evening service; but recovering somewhat in the course of the week, he ventured to the Tabernacle on the following Sabbath-day. But it was obvious to all who saw him, that he was a dying man, and while in the vestry in the evening, his complaint returned with redoubled violence—a circumstance which cast a gloom over every countenance but his own. He spoke of death with the utmost serenity; he thanked God that his work was done; and rejoiced that the time had arrived when his afflicted frame would find repose in the grave, and his spirit ascend to his God and Saviour. A physician who was present at worship, and walked into the vestry to see him, advised that he should not be taken home, lest he might die on the way. He was accordingly taken into the Tabernacle house, where he retired to bed to rise no more.

Early on Monday morning, he sent to one of the ministers of the Tabernacle, stating that he was easier, and wished to see him as soon as convenient. The minister had no sooner entered the chamber, than he stretched out his hand, and said, "I am glad to see you. I wanted to tell you how happy I am, and to thank you for all your kindness and at-

tention." He then expressed himself in terms that indicated a deep acquaintance with the plague of his own heart, and a painful sense of his own unworthiness of the divine favour; but added, "Christ is kind to me! I rejoice, and long for the hour of my dissolution. O my dear boy! preach, preach Christ to the people! Never spare them! Be faithful to them, and think of the worth of a precious soul! Go on and never be tired! Tell them, it is all well—all well!" The minister, alluding to the immediate symptoms of death that appeared on him the preceding evening, said, "It was all well last night." He replied, "It was; but it is better now. The Lord is with me. I see him! He is before my eyes! My heart is full! He is precious—altogether precious!" Then raising himself up, he embraced him, and said, "My dear ——, how I love you! I rejoice that I have one in my arms—one so near to me, who has welcomed sinners to Jesus." After this burst of emotion, falling down on his pillow, and clasping his hands together, he added with flowing tears, "Oh! how precious, how sweet is his presence! How good is the Lord to me! It is more than I can bear! My bed is softer than down."

The following stroke of the friend of Whitfield was worthy even of himself. At the close of the above interview, Mr. West wished the clerk of the Tabernacle, who led the singing, to be sent for; and in the mean time, a friend, in the dying man's room, after making a remark on the death of the body, observed that nothing but a conviction of the power and promise of God could lead to a belief of the resurrection of it. This frigid philosophy was little suited to the taste and frame of Mr. West, at that awful moment; he, therefore, at once cut the matter short by saying, "Keep to the point—talk of a precious Christ—none of your abstruse ideas!"

His illness continued unabated from day to day, and, indeed, from the first, all rational hope of recovery was gone. The solicitude of the congregations respecting the venerable manager was very great, and all his more intimate friends vied in their tender assiduities. As he lay in the Tabernacle house a space of twenty days, there was sufficient time given

for the spread of the intelligence of his dangerous state, and the excitement of the public feelings. The circumstance, too, of his lying and expiring, not in his own house, but in that of the Tabernacle, added to the effect of his affliction. It was a memorable time to all who had the privilege of entering the chamber of the dying saint. It seemed as if the Head of the church had brought his servant to that hallowed place, that he might there, in his person, give a display of his gracious power in supporting his aged and devoted disciple in circumstances of extreme distress, and in entering the valley of the shadow of death. Some of the beautiful expressions which dropped from his holy lips have been carefully recorded and transmitted to posterity.

One of the ministers who sat up with him on a certain night, after his first sleep, said, "You have had some comfortable sleep." He replied, "Very, for a dying man. If this is dying, it is comfortable dying. I have a little pain; but what is that to the joy set before me?—Everlasting joy!" About an hour after, he awoke again, and said, "What a sweet night I have had! Mercy! mercy! mercy!" He often referred to the fifty-first psalm, as expressive of his own vileness; and, to the ninety-first, as expressive of the infinite kindness and faithfulness of God to his soul. Thus day succeeded to day, and night to night; both days and nights were filled with praise and prayer.

Towards the end of the month his strength declined apace, and he felt himself to be on the verge of the eternal world. On the night of the 28th, two ministers sat up with him. About one o'clock in the morning a great alteration took place, and death seemed to be advancing with hasty strides. He could no longer speak with distinctness, and when he attempted it, his voice so faltered that it was difficult to understand him. One time he cried, "Lord have mercy upon a dying worm, and strengthen me through thy life!" Being raised on his bed, when he had somewhat recovered breath, he said, "O death!" but could not proceed, when one of the ministers added, "where is thy sting?" Then, lifting up his hands, he responded, "Blessed be God! that is taken away." After this he was laid down again, and

appearing as if he could not long survive, the other minister repeated in his ear the dying words of Charles Wesley:—

> "In age and feebleness extreme,
> Who shall a helpless worm redeem?
> Jesus, my only hope *thou* art!
> Spring of my fainting flesh and heart;
> Oh! let me catch one smile from thee,
> And drop into eternity!"

These beautiful words soon fixed his attention. At the end of each line he lifted up his hands, as if beating time to the measure; and when the verse was closed, he cried aloud, with great emotion, "Amen! that is all, and all I want!" Shortly after this he said, "My heart!" One of the ministers added, "God is the strength of your heart." He immediately subjoined, "And my portion for ever!" "He *has been* my portion; he *is* my portion; he *will be* my portion, *my everlasting portion!*"

The next day—his last on earth—he spoke very little. But about nine o'clock in the evening he cried with as much energy as his strength would admit, "With his own right hand, and his holy arm, he hath gotten himself the victory!" Some of the family being about to retire, it was hinted to him by his daughter, that they were going to prayer. He, supposing she asked him to pray, answered, "No; I cannot pray." While his son was praying, he was very calm, and, at the conclusion, cried aloud, "Amen!" He then lay about an hour; and at one o'clock in the morning he breathed his last. With such ease and gentleness did he expire, that his beloved daughter, who sat on the bed-side, could scarcely perceive the change.

Thus died the friend of Whitfield! His body was carried, on the 7th of October, from the Tabernacle house to Tottenham-court Chapel, and interred under the Communion Table, in a vault which contained the dust of Mrs. Whitfield, Mrs. West, and Mr. Keen, where they will sleep on together till the heavens be no more. Mr. Knight delivered the address, and Mr. Parsons prayed. On the following sabbath, funeral sermons were preached by Mr. Joss and Mr. Wilks; the former at Tottenham-court Chapel, from Psa.

cxii. 6, "He shall never be moved; the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance;" and the latter in the evening, at the Tabernacle, from John xii. 26, "If any man serve me, him will my Father honour."

Mr. Whitfield in his will, to avoid the Mortmain Act, bequeathed the Tabernacle and Tottenham-court Chapel to his executors, West and Keen, a deed which made them seeming proprietors at law, but, in equity, only trustees. It had, indeed, been carefully arranged between him, them, and Mr. Joss, previous to his departure for America, that they should "act as trustees." On the same principle, Mr. West, as the survivor, bequeathed the estates again to Samuel Foyster and John Wilson, Esqs.

It is instructive and edifying to trace the developments of Providence and the progress of grace in some families; as, for example, in the Henrys of England, and the Browns of Scotland. There is no want of many such families in the land, although there may frequently have been a want of observers to record and transmit to posterity the facts of their valuable history. The race of the venerable Mr. West stands forth in shining prominence among "the seed of the righteous." He was married to a lady of deep and fervent piety, by whom he had five children—four daughters and one son. The son died in early life; the daughters all reached maturity, three were married, and one died single. The line of descent is the following:—

Mr. Whitwell married one, by whom he had five daughters and three sons, one of whom was a dissenting minister, and another embraced popery, and became a priest.

William Wilson, Esq., of Worton, married a second, by whom he had five daughters and two sons. The blessing of the Most High God has copiously rested on this excellent household. The whole of the five daughters have been noted for the fear of the Lord, and adorned by the beauties of holiness. One of the sons is the much respected vicar of Walthamstow, an efficient minister of the "truth as it is in Jesus," and one of the most enlightened promoters of Christian education, in England. Nor is the line likely to terminate with this excellent clergyman, for no fewer than

three of his sons, it is understood, are devoted to God, and preparing for the service of the sanctuary. The other son is Joseph Wilson, Esq., of Battersea Rise, a well known follower of Jesus Christ, an active and zealous promoter of all that is good.

Stephen Wilson, Esq., cousin of the above-mentioned William, and brother of John,—subsequently introduced in this volume,—married a third, by whom he had five sons and three daughters. Of these sons, one is the present Bishop of Calcutta, the ablest man and the most efficient prelate that ever presided over the Ecclesiastical Establishment of India, and a functionary who is conferring, to a vast extent, the best of all blessings on the millions of the East. Of the daughters, all are married, and all are devoted to the Saviour; one is the wife of William Bateman, Esq.,—a name long, and well, and honourably known in connexion with metropolitan philanthropy, missions, and religion,—a name indissolubly associated with the churches and congregations of the immortal Whitfield, for whom, under difficulties, all but insuperable, and after a conflict, in many points, without a parallel, he has succeeded in recovering, consolidating, and establishing, upon an imperishable foundation, their properties and liberties, rights and privileges; and in fully restoring that rational and liberal order of things which obtained in the days of his honoured relative the venerable West.

JOSEPH HARDCASTLE, ESQ.

Joseph Hardcastle, who is on every ground entitled to occupy a foremost place among the lay founders of the London Missionary Society, was born at Leeds, in December, 1752. He received a very superior education in his youth, and early formed those habits of inquiry by which he was distinguished through life. He came to London when very young, where he entered on business, and soon attained a high station among commercial men. After his marriage and settlement at Hatcham House, Surrey, such was his position in the world of benevolence and religion, that we know of no other individual in the past, or the

present age, similarly situated. There was hardly a pre-eminently wise or good man of any sect, class, or country, to whom he was not personally known, and by whom he was not beloved. There was scarcely a work of a benevolent, a humane, a patriotic, or religious description, in which he did not share. He appeared to be a centre in which all met and mingled. His benevolence, his catholic charity, his various knowledge, his business capacities, his enlightened conceptions of trade, politics, and religion; his extreme benignity, surpassing prudence, and boundless hospitality; these, and many other qualities of the first order, marked him out as a man born to act a distinguished part in a most important era of a great country.

We are concerned with Mr. Hardcastle, chiefly in his relation to the London Missionary Society. This great institution, whose grand object is to announce to mankind the doctrine of immortality, has put its own seal on the names of its founders and first officers. When almost everything else in which they have been concerned shall have perished, their work, in relation to this great confederation, will live. It is as its treasurer that the name of Hardcastle will go down to all future ages, and be known to the generations unborn, in every clime. In that capacity he rendered signal service to the great cause of gospel diffusion. Its interests were dearer to him than life, and nothing but a strong conviction that life was drawing to a speedy close, led him at length to retirement from that honourable function.

Mr. Hardcastle wrote a letter, dated February the 7th, 1816, in which he tendered his resignation to the Board of Directors. From this time, he shrunk from all public appearances, and gave himself to his family, a few select friends, his books, and his God. He dwelt much in the view of that eternity which was just at hand. It is a fact, somewhat remarkable, that, in the spring of 1815, while at family prayer, Mr. Hardcastle had a slight stroke of paralysis, from which, however, he soon recovered; and that, in the month of November, 1817, also while at prayer with his family, he was again struck more severely, but not deprived of recollection or speech. The good man lay at the throne of heaven,

before which he had been prostrated, unable to rise. While his sons were lifting him up, he calmly observed, "I could not pass better than from the throne of grace to a throne of glory." After a few weeks of confinement, he rose from his bed again, but he could neither walk, nor write, nor speak distinctly.

From this time he lingered on, till the beginning of March, 1819, when his sanctified spirit ascended to a better world. He died in the 67th year of his age; and was buried in Bunhill Fields amid a great concourse of sorrowing friends and persons who revered his memory. The pall was supported by the Rev. Messrs. R. Hill, Burder, Wilks, Collison, Dr. Waugh, and W. A. Hankey, Esq. On the following sabbath, funeral sermons were preached in the morning by Dr. Collyer, at Peckham; in the afternoon by Mr. Townsend, at Bermondsey; and in the evening by Mr. Hill, at Surrey Chapel. The directors of the Missionary Society, desirous to bear a public testimony of respect to his much honoured memory, resolved that a funeral service should be held at Surrey Chapel, on the 18th. It took place accordingly, when the pulpit and desks were hung in mourning, and a sermon was preached by Dr. Bogue, from Acts viii. 2: Dr. Waugh prayed before the sermon, and Mr. Hill at the conclusion. About fifty ministers attended, and a large congregation of the excellent of the earth, affording an unequivocal proof of the high and just estimation in which he was held.*

WILLIAM SHRUBSOLE, ESQ.

As one of the first secretaries, it is proper that Mr. Shrubsole should follow Mr. Hardcastle, the treasurer of the London Missionary Society. He was born at Sheerness in the Isle of Sheppey, in November, 1759. He repaired to London in the year 1785, and became a clerk in the Accountant's division of the Bank of England. His income, in this situation, was at first so small as hardly to suffice for his

* See a detailed account of his connexions, correspondence, and philanthropic endeavours in Dr. Morison's "Fathers," &c.

subsistence; but by the integrity of his character and "the good hand of his God upon him," he rose, in that establishment, not only to comfort but to competence, and enjoyed the means of largely gratifying his own generous heart. The writer first saw him at the Bank, where he waited upon him on an errand of religious benevolence, and he never can forget the impression which was made by his simplicity, benignity, frankness, and affection.

In 1791, Mr. Shrubsole, who had made a public profession of the faith, in his father's church, in 1787, became united in marriage to Miss Morris, a member of the church assembling in the Tabernacle, Moorfields. This led him to a frequent, though not a constant, attendance at that place, and brought him in friendly contact with many of the ministers who from time to time supplied the pulpit; and it led especially to a very friendly intercourse between him and the Rev. M. Wilks. Now it was that he began to be mixed up with the excellent of the earth, and took a lively share in the formation of the London Missionary Society.

At this period the religious position of Mr. Shrubsole was very unsatisfactory. He was united with no visible section of the church of Christ; he not only communed in the Lord's supper at the Established Church, while he chiefly worshipped among the Dissenters, but he wandered about as a hearer among various denominations. He ultimately settled down, however, at Hoxton Academy Chapel, where, for at least twenty years, he was a regular attendant and communicant, a bright ornament to the church, and a liberal supporter of all its interests. Mr. Shrubsole, in very many respects, resembled his distinguished friend Mr. Hardcastle. He, too, filled a vast space in the field of Christian philanthropy, with much untarnished honour to himself, and advantage to the cause of Christ. Seldom, very seldom, has it been the lot of an individual both to enjoy and impart so large a portion of felicity. He was unusually happy in his own soul, in his family, in his sons-in-law, and in every connexion that he sustained through life.

Mr. Shrubsole's end corresponded with his way. His frame of mind for many years had largely partaken of a

Sabbatic serenity, and on a Sabbath the messenger of his heavenly Father arrived to call him home. In 1829, he took a temporary residence at Highbury during the summer months, where on Sabbath, August the 22nd, he complained of slight indisposition, which prevented his attendance on the Rev. Mr. Yockney's ministry, which he usually enjoyed while residing at Islington. He remained at home, and spent the morning in devotional reading; but shortly after mid-day he was found stretched insensible upon the floor of his room. He had been seized with apoplexy: all means of restoration failed, and early on the following day he entered into rest.*

ROBERT STEVEN, ESQ.

Robert Steven was a native of Scotland, and born in Glasgow, in the year 1754, of parents distinguished for Christian worth, and attachment to the cause of God. In addition to Christian tuition, of a high order, he received a first-rate education, having successively attended the High School and the university of Glasgow. On the completion of his education, he entered on business with his father, and shortly after proceeded to London with a view to improvement. He afterwards returned to Scotland for a little while, but soon came back to the metropolis, where he settled as a leather factor in Upper Thames-street. Although intelligent and moral, there is no reason to believe that he knew the truth at that period. Shortly after this, however, he became in earnest about his eternal interests, and connected himself with the chapel in Collier's Rents, in the church of which, in after life, he was long a useful deacon.

Many living witnesses attest the varied and manifold excellencies of Mr. Steven, in his several relations, as a man of business, a Christian philanthropist, a friend, a father, and a husband. But our concern is with him chiefly in his capacity of a founder of the Missionary Society. Of this institution he was one of the first trustees; but he soon

* See Dr. Morison's "Fathers," &c., for a well-executed sketch of Mr. Shrubsole by his daughter and a character by the doctor.

withdrew for a time, owing to certain matters which did not meet the conscientious views of himself and some other excellent men: but he subsequently returned, and to the best of his ability helped forward the glorious enterprise.

He took a general interest in the affairs of the Saviour's kingdom, but knowing that he who gives his personal services everywhere is efficient nowhere, he wisely selected an object—and that object was the Hibernian Society, of which he was not merely a laborious member, but also one of its founders. He twice travelled over a large portion of Ireland, with a view to promote the interests of education. His zeal in behalf of that institution is supposed to have shortened his days.

The death of Mr. Steven was of a character such as does not often occur. The writer received the account of it from the lips of an eye-witness, the Rev. John Campbell, of Kingsland, his last pastor. On Sabbath, May the 5th, he joined in the communion of the Lord's supper with the church at Kingsland. He became indisposed during the night; Dr. Conquest was consequently sent for, and on arriving perceived with alarm the situation of his honoured friend and father-in-law. He told him at once that his dissolution was at hand, and that a few hours would finish his course. He was quite unprepared for this awful communication; but believing the fact as alleged by the experienced physician, in a very little space, grace came to the aid of nature, and the dying man exclaimed, "Thank God for it!" He then sent for Mr. Campbell, who lived hard by; on his pastor's coming into the room, he said, "Pray two minutes." Mr. Campbell engaged in prayer for his dying friend, who immediately after made some beautiful observations on the work of Christ, and his glory in the salvation of men. He expired about two o'clock in the afternoon.*

CAPTAIN JAMES WILSON.

The history of Captain Wilson, from his birth to the completion of his celebrated voyage, has been already re-

* See Dr. Conquest's touching testimony in Dr. Morison's "Fathers," &c.

corded in our pages; it only remains, therefore, to set forth the main facts of his subsequent pilgrimage. On returning from the South Seas, he took up his residence in the metropolis, his niece once more acting as housekeeper. His health, however, soon became infirm, and he began to feel the effects of a lengthened residence in eastern climes. He shortly after his return married into a rich and respectable family in Denmark-hill, of the name of Holbert; and sat down under the able ministry of the Rev. George Clayton. With more generosity than prudence, he advanced sums of money in aid of certain relatives to carry out mercantile speculations, and by this means he lost in all little short of thirty thousand pounds. To his benevolent heart this was felt to be a great calamity, because it prevented the gratification of those generous feelings which glowed in his bosom and delighted in the doing of good. Although he thus lost his all, he was deprived of none of the comforts of life, nor of the means of a respectable appearance in society. An ample fortune also was provided for his children, in the right of Mrs. Wilson, so that, in as far as he and his household were concerned, there was no reason for repining; but there was another circumstance which created some anxiety. The captain was reputed to be a man of great wealth, and he was known to have married a lady of large fortune; under these circumstances, therefore, he was expected by the public to make a handsome appearance on the roll of religious benefaction. This subjected him to the animadversion of men who knew not the situation in which the providence of God had placed him.

The captain's life, after his return from the South Seas, was one of great privacy. He was not made for the bustle and contention of committees and popular assemblies. His habits were military rather than civil. He felt he could do little good as a director, and very seldom attended in that capacity; but when he thought that his mercantile, geographical, or nautical knowledge could be used to advantage, he was ever ready to tender it. He devoted much of his time to reading, and especially to the study of the Scriptures. He was very averse to general company, and indeed

he had no great relish for company of any kind, unless it was highly spiritual. His time was principally divided between his family and the church at Walworth, in which he had the honour of bearing the deacon's office—an office which he sustained in such a manner as to draw forth a handsome testimony from his observant pastor on the melancholy occasion of preaching his funeral sermon.

Captain Wilson, for many months before his death, was the subject of an internal distemper, which soon worked a great and an alarming change in his frame and aspect. He declined apace towards the end of the year 1813; he officiated as a deacon on the first Sabbath of January, 1814; and appeared only once or twice afterwards in the house of God. During the subsequent period of his affliction, he was almost wholly engrossed with the concerns of his soul, in the prospect of eternity. He retained the happy use of all his faculties till within two or three hours of his decease; and died in the full hope of immortality on Friday, August the 12th, 1814, at the early age of fifty-four, leaving a widow, a son, and four daughters, to lament the loss of a husband and a father, whose name will ever be a passport, to those who bear it, to the respect and goodwill of all who can appreciate personal excellence, moral heroism, and distinguished professional ability.

JOHN WILSON, ESQ.

John Wilson was in all respects a man of importance in his day. He was a distinguished member of one of the most numerous, reputable, and influential families among the commoners of England: he succeeded Daniel West, Esq., in the joint superintendence of two of the largest Christian communities in Europe; he was not only a founder, but one of the first trustees, of the London Missionary Society; he was the head of a very large family, whom he trained in a manner which reflects lasting honour upon his memory, and who have all taken and kept a high position in society; he was, as a man, an individual of a very exalted order; and, as a Christian, he was in many points a pattern of spiritual excellence.

John Wilson was born at Coventry, in the year 1751, where his father, Stephen Wilson, Esq., carried on an extensive business. He was one of four children, two sons and two daughters; of the sons, John was the elder, and Stephen the younger. The father died while the children were in a state of infancy; the widowed mother, however, still carried on the business for the benefit of her family. In this anxious undertaking, it was her happiness to act in partnership with the late Thomas Wilson, Esq., father of the present Treasurer of Highbury College, and of the London Missionary Society.

After the death of Mr. Stephen Wilson, Mr. Thomas Wilson repaired to the metropolis, where he commenced business, and where John, of whom we now speak, was bound an apprentice to him. The young man brought along with him the steady habits which he had acquired under the paternal roof, and was a regular attendant on public worship. He had so far the form of godliness, but knew nothing of its power, till he heard the voice of Whitfield, who, under God, was the instrument of his salvation.

In the year 1774, he married Miss Elizabeth Wright, who proved all that a husband can desire to find in a wife, for the lengthened space of fifty-two years. "We are given to understand that she was a matron of a better order than the bulk of those of modern days—that her virtues were those of a meek, and gentle, and social, and unostentatious character—virtues which make home a husband's heaven, and the parlour his earthly paradise—virtues which conduce to the order, the elegance, the economy, and the comfort, of an honourable, and an exemplary household—virtues which would have poured around her a brighter lustre, had they not been lost in the more than ordinary splendour of the virtues of her husband."* From this happy union, as already stated, sprang a very numerous family, one of whom shared in the superintendence of the Tabernacle and Tottenham-court Chapel, till near the time of his death; and

* See the Author's funeral sermon for Mrs. Wilson, p. 30, in the "Pulpit," of March 11, 1830.

another recently sustained with high and most deserved popularity, the exalted office of Lord Mayor of London.

Mr. Wilson, as a convert of Whitfield, was naturally and strongly attached to his sainted person, and to everything connected with his honoured name. Such a man could not be long in the church or congregation undiscovered. His deep piety, his even temper, his mild manners, his benignant aspect and noble presence, combined with his wealth and station, all marked him out as a person born to take a leading part wherever he mingled with bodies of his fellow men. He was, accordingly, soon singled out by Keen and West as a fit man to succeed them in their honourable and responsible functions in the chapels of George Whitfield. Under this conviction, therefore, and feeling the infirmities of age creeping on, these venerable men proposed to associate him with themselves in the year 1789, but he declined the honour. They repeated their proposal in the following year, but still without success.

Thus the matter passed off, and Mr. Keen died in the year 1793, leaving Mr. West alone in office. Mr. West, therefore, immediately associated with himself the late Samuel Foyster, Esq., also a founder of the London Missionary Society; but notwithstanding this, and the repeated refusals of Mr. Wilson, West was still intent upon his incorporation with the management. In addition to a deep conviction of superior competency on the part of Mr. Wilson, feelings of friendship were not without their influence in prompting this amiable urgency. The West and Wilson families, as we have shown in our sketch of West, had become intimately connected. Stephen Wilson, Esq., brother of John, had married a daughter of Mr. West. Stephen was a very superior man, and as a member of the church assembling in the Tabernacle, as his own son-in-law, and as a person richly endowed with every needful qualification, he had often, but without success, pressed him to accept the office of management. Deeming it very desirable that one of the family should succeed him in the honourable office which he had so long sustained, Mr. West pressed John, whose refusal was probably more hesitant, and, therefore,

more hopeful than that of Stephen; and accordingly, as if to shut him up, he bequeathed the legal estates of the chapels to him and Mr. Foyster, or the survivor of them. This step had the desired effect; on the death of Mr. West, Mr. Wilson immediately came into action, and continued in the management during a period of thirty years.

As a manager, Mr. Wilson exhibited a variety of rare excellencies; he carried his admirable business habits into everything appertaining to the chapels. His attention, fidelity, punctuality, and order, were such as have seldom been equalled, and never exceeded. All his delights centred in his office; it appeared to constitute his duty and his privilege, his business and his recreation. The clocks of the chapels were far less regular in their movements than the leading manager. Tabernacle and Tottenham-court Chapel were the whole world to him. His time, talents, influence, were largely devoted to promote, according to his own ideas, the welfare of the churches. When he erred, he erred upon principle; he was, doubtless, conscientious even in acts which it was not very easy to harmonize with enlightened views of Sacred Scripture, with the dictates of sound experience, or with that practical philosophy which adapts means to ends—and in no one case sacrifices the latter to the former.

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